

OTTOMAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO ISLAMIC RHETORIC

PRESENTED BY

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'Arab, hükm-i belāğate mukāvemet idemediler.

Nāmık Kemāl

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## ABSTRACT

One of the critical periods of modern Islamic history was the effort at reform known as the Tanzimat, an attempt to introduce European institutions into the far-flung Ottoman Empire, while at the same time preserve traditional Muslim values. Amongst the various ways this was to affect society, not the least prominent was the introduction of new conceptions of the scope and purpose of literature, which was in turn to involve a departure from the age-long system of rhetoric, as expounded in the schools. The present thesis examines, in particular, works of the two most important authors whose efforts were directed to the achievement of a form of literary Turkish which they held to fill the needs of a modern society. Cevdet Paşa and Ekrem Bey, although in many respects diametrically opposed to one another, was each, in his own way, to re-examine the subject of rhetoric in an Ottoman context, initiating thereby the currents which were ultimately to give rise to modern Turkish literature. Detailed examination is paid to the influences underlining the innovations they sought to propagate, and the controversy which this aroused is evaluated in terms of the conservative and modernist tendencies within the changing society.

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>B.O.</u>	Cevdet Paşa, <u>Belāğat-i 'Osmānīye</u> , Istanbul 1299/1881.
<u>Brockelmann</u>	<u>Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur</u> , (G.) 2 vols. rep. Leiden, 1943-49. (Supp.) 3 vols., Leiden, 1937-42.
<u>E.I.</u> <sup>1</sup>	Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st Ed.
<u>E.I.</u> <sup>2</sup>	Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Ed.
<u>H.O.P.</u>	E. J. W. Gibb, <u>History of Ottoman Poetry</u> , 6 vols., London, 1900-1909.
<u>M.I.</u>	H <sup>V</sup> āce-i Cihān, <u>Menāzırü 'l-İnşā</u> , Istanbul, n.d.
<u>O.M.</u>	Mehmed Tāhir, <u>'Osmānlı Mü'ellifleri</u> , 3 vols., Istanbul, 1334-43/1915-24.
<u>Tezâkir</u>	C. Baysun, <u>Cevdet Paşa: Tezâkir</u> , 4 vols., Ankara, 1960-1967.

The following abbreviations have been used to indicate the meter of poetry in the text.

<u>Remel</u>	R 1	--u---/--u---/--u---/--u---→
	R 2	zu---/uu---/uu---/uu---
	R 5	zu---/uu---/uu---
<u>Mużāri'</u>	Muż 1	---u/--u-u/--u-u/--u-
	Muż 2	---u/--u---//---u/--u---
<u>Hezec</u>	H 1	u---/u---/u---/u---
	H 2	--u/--u-u/--u-u/--u-
	H 5	--u/--u-u/--u-
<u>Hafif</u>	Haf 1	zu---/u-u-//uu---
<u>Müctes</u>	Müc 1	u---/uu---/uu---/uu---

## INTRODUCTION

A study of rhetoric, as of any other field of human experience, will naturally presuppose certain received ideas about the nature of what is being discussed. While some of these may be held to have almost universal acceptance and can be defined in terms of general experience, others can only be expressed within the context of a specific culture, and, even then, only be relevant to a specific epoch in its history. Among the problems in the discussion of concepts, which have a more or less universal applicability, is the necessity of using terms which vary in significance according to the peoples using them and the period of usage, resulting in variances in degree of correspondance. Rhetoric is one of these concepts.

A dictionary of Twentieth Century English usage offers five definitions for rhetoric:

- 1) the art or science of all specially literary uses of language in prose or verse, including the figures of speech;
- 2) the art of prose in general as opposed to verse;
- 3) (in prose or verse) the use of exaggeration or display in an unfavourable sense;
- 4) the art of oratory;

5) (in classical oratory) the art of influencing the thought and conduct of one's hearers.<sup>1</sup>

While some of these definitions may seem to be mutually contradictory, these apparent contradictions can be reconciled within their historical and cultural context.

The fifth definition (the art of influencing the thought and conduct of one's hearers) is valid as a description of the function of classical rhetoric, which was formulated as an art which would allow an orator to influence his audience. In his Rhetorica, Aristotle believed that rhetoric could be treated as a science and that speech was subject to analysis so that one might isolate the elements of persuasion which involved reasoning, giving pleasure and inducing emotional response in the audience. All the classical works on rhetoric aimed at identifying and analysing these elements.

The second definition (the art of prose in general as opposed to verse) arises from the dichotomy in Aristotle's works on criticism: his Poetica deals with verse while his Rhetorica deals with the art of prose which shares many features in common with oratory, in that many of the principles which apply to the spoken word in formal speech apply equally well to the written word.

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1 The American College Dictionary (New York, 1947).

The first definition (the art and science of all specially literary uses of language in prose or verse, including the figures of speech) takes in the rhetorical theories of Aristotle's successors. In the Rhetorica, Aristotle dealt with some of the parts of speech, for example metaphor and simile, as used in prose. The later works on rhetoric, particularly the Ad Herrenium, an influential work in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, falsely ascribed to Cicero, blurred the distinction between the use of these tropes as applied to poetry and prose, and added to them more than sixty other parts of speech. By the end of the Renaissance these figures had grown to more than 200 and the identification of new tropes became an end in itself.

These figures were often injudiciously used so as to produce a turgidity in style, and hence we have the third definition (the use of exaggeration or display in an unfavourable sense).

It is clear, therefore, that there is little benefit to be gained from offering a single definition which would capture all shades of meaning. It suffices to note that of the five distinct concepts identified in the dictionary, it is the first which most approximates to the sense in which the term is used in this thesis. However, it is, nevertheless, inadequate and requires expansion. One might therefore postulate the following definition:

Rhetoric collects, describes and analyses those features of language which have attracted attention and admiration. These are frequently deviations from common usage, given validity by the degree to which they lend prominence to the effect desired by the user. This, therefore, presumes the existence of a standard language the rules of which are capable of modification to allow such an individuality of style.

The standard language upon which rhetoric must be based is regulated by the rules of grammar and this is a prerequisite for rhetoric: if a language does not have a grammar, and hence a normative usage, then the rhetorician will have no basis on which to operate. Grammar can be defined as that science which seeks to establish the laws of the written language derived from those features of speech which have found general acceptance within the dominant element of society. It should be remarked that grammar has a political function, often being the tool of a social elite for restraining the development of diverse local variants. In many societies the written language is frequently no more than a body of conventional usage, the rules of which (its grammar) preserve it from corruption by the inroads made by spoken variants. As it is the written language which usually represents the common means of communication within a political unit, grammar acquires a political significance often ignored by the linguist.

Rhetoric, on the other hand, has no single function, nor does it arise from a need common to all literate societies. While in the ancient world it developed as forensic rhetoric, a science which fostered persuasive, that is effective, speech, in the Islamic world it evolved from the early works of literary criticism. Even today, in the West, we often think of rhetoric and literary criticism as being synonymous. In the classical rhetorical works we observe the habit of analysis of speech, and it is in this analysis that we find the basic tool of literary criticism. In the Eighteenth Century rhetoric increasingly occupied itself with general questions of style and form, and thereby drew even closer to criticism. The unification of these two disciplines arises from a common tool of research: analysis of language. Once a critical analysis has been made a critical theory can be evolved.

A distinction must be drawn between rhetoric and formal literary criticism. The latter presupposes the existence of a literary theory based upon the analysis of a particular literary tradition. Having analysed the works that make up a tradition and having formed a literary theory thereupon, the critic can apply this to a particular work in order to evaluate it within that tradition. (The words "literary tradition" have been emphasised in order to avoid the erroneous supposition that a literary theory evolved from works in one language, may, with some validity, be applied to a particular work in another language, in



order to evaluate its literary merit.) Rhetoric, however, does not presuppose a literature; like grammar, it is a function of language.

While in Europe criticism grew out of rhetoric, Islamic rhetoric, that is the 'ilmū 'l-belāḡa, evolved from earlier works in criticism. Belāḡa is the Arabic theory of style. Etymologically it is derived from "belāḡa" meaning to reach, and is interpreted by Ebū Hilāl el-'Askerī (d. 396/1005) as signifying the art of reaching the listener in attempting to convey one's ideas to him, or the art of reaching the utmost perfection in the style and content of a composition. In the classical period it is indiscriminately applied to poetry, ornate prose and oratory. However, it must be emphasised that unlike European classical rhetoric, belāḡa does not have its origins in oratory. Since the time of the 'Abbāsids until the present century there has been no forum for persuasive oratory in Islam. Belāḡa when applied to oratory, usually in reference to the Friday mosque, was used to embellish speech, it did not provide the elements of persuasion. Before the Tenth Century A.D. (the Fifth Century A.H.), no definition of belāḡa was offered. It is, however, clear that it was to critical analysis that the word was being applied.

The earliest critics confined themselves to subjective judgements on the qualities of a particular beyt or poet,

no reason or evidence being offered in support of their arguments. However, these critical evaluations were merely the by-products of philological discussion, and even as early as the First Century of the Hijra we have philologists attempting to evaluate not merely a line or two but the whole of a poet's work. Later Ibn Sellāmī 'l-Cūmahī (d. 231/845) put criticism on a firmer footing by his insistence that personal taste was not enough for an evaluation of poetry, it was also necessary to be well-versed in the practice of poetry and the critic must also have made a study of the poets. In his Tabakatū 'ṣ-Ṣu'arā' he classifies the poets according to their period and place of origin. He failed however to support his judgement by analysing the work of the poets. El-Cāhiz (d. 255/868) made an analysis of speech and then proceeded to postulate various theories on its correct use: one of his works, the Beyān Ve-'t-Tebyīn, is divided into four sections, each of which deals with some aspect of speech: the first is concerned with correct pronunciation; the second with the correct use of the word, and the avoidance of dissonance between words placed in construct; the third with syntax and the relationship between words and their meanings; and the fourth deals with poses and gestures which should be adopted by the speaker. In these observations critical analysis is explicit, he does not however define the qualities of a good poem, nor does he develop a theory of criticism. These early faltering steps towards the development of a rhetoric of Arabic were followed by

writers whose contribution to the field is undeniable.

İbn Mu'tezz d. 296/908), wrote a treatise entitled Kitābū 'l-Bedī', which successfully proved that certain figures of speech, claimed to have been invented by early Abbasid poets, were in fact not only used by the ancient Bedouin poets but were also to be found in the Koran. To these figures (isti'āre, tecni's, muṭābaka, reddū 'l-'acz, and mezheb kelāmī) he added twelve more.

Ḳudāme b. Ca'fer (d. after 320/932) in a work entitled the Kitāb Nakdi 'ṣ-Ṣi'r set out to enumerate the good qualities of poetry which when combined together in a poem would make it sublime, and the bad qualities which would reduce the poem to the lowest level. These qualities do not depend on the moral values they express, but rather on the poet's skill in the use of the four constituent elements of poetry which he defines as word, meaning, meter and rhyme, the discussion consisting in the main of permutation of these four elements. Fortunately, this scholastic approach was not adopted by others, but the terminology he uses was to influence later Islamic rhetoricians. Both İbn Mu'tezz and Ḳudāme b. Ca'fer contributed to the formulation of the style of exposition which was to be followed by most rhetoricians: each chapter was devoted to a separate part of speech which was dealt with in the same order: technical term, definition and examples.

Before proceeding to 'Abdŭlkāhir el-Cŭrcānī (d. 471/1071) mention must be made of two other critics: the first, Ebū Hilāl el-'Askerī (d. 395/1005), defined the relationship between fesāhat and belāġat, and among his other achievements raised the number of figures of bedī' to thirty-five. El-Bakillānī (d. 403/1013) in a treatise on the ī'cāz of the Koran applied critical theories to the Koran and to his contemporary poets, thereby demonstrating that the work of mortals fell short of the sublime style of the Holy Book.

Rhetoric became firmly established as a discipline with two works by 'Abdŭlkāhir el-Cŭrcānī, the Esrārŭ 'l-Belāġa and the Delā'ilŭ 'l-ī'cāz. El-Cŭrcānī criticises the superficial nature of the existing works on rhetoric (no doubt referring to Ibn Mu'tezz and Kudāma b. Ca'fer). Unsatisfied with the poor quality of these works, he builds his own theory of metaphor, simile and analogy based on an analysis of the psychological effects of metaphor which he explains at length in the Esrārŭ 'l-Belāġa. The Delā'ilŭ 'l-ī'cāz, the earlier of the two works, is not only an analysis of the style of the Koran which he proves to be inimitable, but also contains a discussion of syntax in its relationship to style. These two works marked the greatest contribution to the development of Islamic rhetoric. Henceforth, it ceased to be the object of investigation and analysis and became an established science, confined to the medrese, whence it was to emerge once again in the Nineteenth Century.

The final stage in the development of rhetoric came with the establishment of a text-book which would dominate the field to the exclusion of all other original works. Both works of El-Cūrcānī were abridged by Es-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229) who stripped away the profound analysis which rendered El-Cūrcānī's contribution so unique, and what remained of the contents of the Delā'ilū 'l-ī'cāz was termed the 'ilmū 'l-me'ānī, while the Esrārū 'l-Belāḡa became the 'ilmū 'l-beyān, each a separate chapter in the compendium of the literary sciences which he called the Miftāhū 'l-'Ulūm. To these two chapters are added a section entitled the 'ilmū 'l-bedī' which contains those thirty-five figures of speech identified by El-'Askerī. These three sciences were further epitomised by El-Ḳazvīnī (d. 739/1338) in a work entitled the Telḥīṣū 'l-Miftāh, the very name of which has become synonymous with belāḡa up to the present century.

The Telḥīṣ was quickly accepted into the curriculum of the medreses, whence it has not yet been removed. One can only assume that its concise nature made it an attractive text-book, for it could be easily memorised. There is no other reason to recommend it: in places it is virtually incomprehensible, so that one could say with some justification that although it was memorised by generations of medrese students, it was probably fully understood by few of them. To understand the work the student went to the commentaries of which there are many.

El-Ḳazvīnī himself wrote a companion volume, the Īzāh, which is still taught today. Soon after the death of El-Ḳazvīnī the two most popular commentaries were written by Et-Teftāzānī (d. 732/1390): the Muṭavvel and the Muḥṭasar, the latter being an abridgement not of the Telḥīs, but of the Muṭavvel.

It is possible to trace a continuous development of rhetorical theory from the earliest period of Islam up to the Tenth Century, when El-Cūrcānī raised the discipline to the summit of its development, whence it has since declined due to the scholastic approach favoured by his successors. However, as soon as the science was formulated in the Telḥīs and established in the curriculum of the medrese, Islamic rhetoric became fossilised. There then followed a proliferation of super-commentaries and glosses, their number bearing witness to the inadequacy of the standard text-book.

From the beginning of the Fifteenth Century the study of rhetoric acquired a uniformity within much of the Islamic World. The 'ilmū 'l-belāga may, therefore, be defined, within this context, as the science of Islamic rhetoric as formulated in the Telḥīs and expounded in its commentaries.

While there is no doubt that in the Ancient World rhetoric was born out of the need to formulate rules for

effective speech in the courts of law, the origins of Islamic rhetoric are more complex and diffused. There is, first of all, what may be termed the literary function of rhetoric which attempted to establish criteria by which literary works may be judged. Rhetoric has also contributed to the philosophical investigations into two problems: the nature of speech, an attribute uniquely bestowed on humans, and the relationship between meaning and utterance, a problem which still preoccupies modern philosophers. It is clear that belāġa, and in particular me'ānī, have what may be termed loosely, a theological function, in that it provides a basis for investigating the miraculous qualities of the Koran, while at the same time functioning as a tool of exegesis. Finally, rhetoric provides some of the pillars on which rests the Arabic theory of linguistics. Here the problem is that of how man communicates. Of the various levels of language, the word, syntax, context, metaphor, and the figures of speech, belāġa is concerned with the last three. These spurs to its development, as well as the reason for the study of rhetoric, are not, however, distinct, rather they are inter-related, being facets of the same phenomenon, a curiosity about language.

The study of rhetoric served in one other function: instructing students in the art of writing. Up to the time of 'Abdūlkāhir el-Cūrcānī (5th/11th Century) rhetorical studies had taken the form of literary analysis. The redaction of this theory into the epitome entitled the

Telhīs occurred at a time when the Arabic literary effort entered a period of scholasticism which was to last until the Nineteenth Century. Rhetoric became subject to the pedagogical needs of the medrese system of education. Although the theory expounded in the Telhīs was the same as that which had been developed by the early literary critics, it was presented as a means of acquiring good style. Me'ānī was defined as the science by which the student may make (his own) speech appropriate to the occasion, beyān allowed him to express an idea in several ways, while bedī' provided him with the means of decorating his speech. Although the definitions in the Telhīs would tend to suggest that the purpose of the work was didactic, the contents are nevertheless descriptive and analytic. While the Telhīs did in fact represent an Islamic theory of literature, it was presented as a manual of style, and in the medrese these two functions were never clearly distinguished.

In the Nineteenth Century, the Tanzimat reforms created a need for both a native theory of literature and a text-book of Turkish style. This need was partially met by two works, the Belāğat-i 'Osmānīye by Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, and the Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt by Recā'īzāde Maḥmūd Ekrem, both appearing in the same year (1299/1882). Both were heralded as major innovations, the Belāğat-i 'Osmānīye was considered the first Ottoman rhetoric, while the Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt was seen as nothing less than a revolution



which would do away with the medieval Arabic tradition which had hitherto prevailed. It will be demonstrated that these views were rather optimistic; both works were derivative and represented the culmination of a process which had been going on throughout the twenty years before their appearance.

The study of Islamic rhetoric in the West can be divided into two distinct periods, the first of which is represented by the contributions of certain Nineteenth Century scholars who provided texts and translations of the medrese curriculum as an aid to the appreciation of the classical literatures of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. As they were usually describing the course of rhetoric currently being taught in the schools in the East, their contributions tended to reflect the theory as presented in the Telhīs. The earliest work of rhetorical theory, published in any language, was F. Gladwin's Dissertation on the Rhetoric, Prosody and Rhyme of the Persians (London, 1801), in which he describes some of the figures of bedī'. Garcin de Tassy included not only the figures of bedī' but, also, a description of the tropes of beyān in his translation of the Hadā'iku 'l-Belāga, entitled Rhétorique et prosodie des langues de l'Orient musulman (Paris, 1848). Both these works represented the classical theory illustrated in Persian, and it was not until A. F. Von Mehren presented a selection of annotated texts in Die Rhetorik der Araber (Vienna, 1853) that European

scholars had access to rhetorical theory in Arabic. Von Mehren reproduced selections from the Telḥīs, the Muḥtasar, its commentary by Teftāzānī, and a versification by Es-Sūyūṭī, restricting himself to the sciences of beyān and bedī'. When E. J. W. Gibb wrote The History of Ottoman Poetry he included a summary description of the figures of bedī' with Turkish illustrations (vol. I, London, 1900) and E. G. Browne provided a description illustrated in Persian, in the Literary History of Persia (vol. II, London, 1906). However, both these contributions were intended as introductions to the study of literature, little effort being devoted to an analysis of the figures themselves.

In this century we have witnessed a revival of interest in Arabic rhetoric; not, however, in the classical theory as formulated in the Telḥīs, but rather in the formative period preceding its redaction. Recent developments in the study of early Arabic rhetoric have provided us with a number of texts which have, in turn, encouraged scholars to analyse and assess the work of the early rhetoricians.<sup>1</sup> A brief survey of the main contributions can be found in

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1 A comprehensive bibliography of texts and editions of works concerned with Arabic rhetoric may be found in M. A. Al-Hadīlac's doctoral thesis, entitled "Ḍiyā' -ad-Dīn Ibn-Al-Athīr and his Contribution to the Science of Rhetoric" (Edinburgh University, 1978), 261-271.

S. A. Bonebakker's article "Aspects of the History of Literary Rhetoric and Poetics in Arabic Literature"<sup>1</sup>, in which he deals with some of the problems in defining Arabic rhetoric, identifying certain major difficulties inherent in its study. This article includes material from earlier works including M. Khalafallah's brief articles "Some Landmarks of Arab Achievement in the Field of Literary Criticism" and "Some Landmarks in the Development of Badī' in Arabic Literary Studies"<sup>2</sup>; M. L. Ashmawy's article "Arab Contribution to Literary Criticism"<sup>3</sup>; and M. A. Muid Khan's article "Origin and development of Arabic Literary Criticism"<sup>4</sup>. A more substantial and up-to-date survey of the field of literary criticism is offered by W. Heinrichs in an article "Literary Theory: the Problem of its Efficiency"<sup>5</sup>.

In Turkey Islamic rhetoric has remained largely neglected. Regarded as a science of marginal interest to

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- 1     In Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies, ed. L. White, vol. I (Berkeley, 1970), pp. 75-95.
  - 2     Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, University of Alexandria, vol. XV (1961), 3-19, and XII (1958), 3-8.
  - 3     Ibid., XIV (1960), 51-64.
  - 4     Bulletin of the Institute of Islamic Studies, Aligarh Muslim University, (1962-63), 58-71.
  - 5     In Arabic Poetry, Theory and Development, ed. G. E. von Grunebaum (Weisbaden, 1973), 19-69.

the students of Koranic exegesis, its contributions to the development of Tanzimat literature have been regarded as altogether too negative to warrant a detailed study. The very fact that the Islâm Ansiklopedidsi should devote a mere half column to the entry "Belâga" indicates with what little regard a major science in the Ottoman educational system is held in Twentieth Century Turkish scholarship. Only recently have we been offered an analytical study of some aspects of the classical tradition within the context of the literature, in W. G. Andrews' Introduction to Ottoman Poetry (Chicago, 1976), where certain aspects of beyân and bedî' are analysed. Although presented as an aid to the study of Ottoman poetry, this contribution is useful as a summary guide to students embarking on a study of Arabic, Persian or Ottoman literature.

The present study arose from a consideration of the curious fact that, while it was generally accepted that no work of Turkish rhetoric had been written before 1299 A.H. (1881-2), in that year there appeared two major works, differing remarkably one from the other. The Belâgat-i 'Osmâniye of Cevdet Paşa and the Ta'lîm-i Edebîyât of Ekrem Bey each represented a distinct approach to the study of a subject which had hitherto been taught through the medium of Arabic. The former presented the traditional material adapted to the Ottoman language, while the latter was recognised as no less than a revolutionary departure from the classical system. The background to the

development of two distinct schools of Ottoman rhetoric will be investigated here, proceeding on to a critique of the text-books and an assessment of their contribution to the development of a rhetoric of the Turkish language.

The first chapter is devoted to a brief description of the three constituent sciences of Islamic rhetoric, emphasis being given to me'ānī, which has, as yet, not attracted the attention of Western scholars. The second chapter traces the study of rhetoric which did not acquire a place in the syllabus of the established educational system. Chapter Four examines the attempts to translate and adapt the classical theory in a way which would render it more relevant to the Ottoman language. These four chapters serve to describe the classical system of rhetoric with reference to its content, the books through which it was studied, and the various attempts by Ottoman scholars to surmount the difficulties inherent in the Arabic texts by translating them into Turkish.

The fifth chapter is devoted to a study of the Belāḡat-i 'Osmānīye and the reaction it elicited from some contemporary students and teachers. No comprehensive description of the work is offered, as there are few departures from the classical exposition in the Telhīs; rather an attempt is made to examine a small portion of the text, showing the extent to which it relied on its Arabic models, while at the same time assessing the

degree to which it would have been intelligible to the students for whom it was written. Special attention is paid to a series of pamphlets, written either as critiques or in defence of this text-book, for it is through these that we are best able to appreciate the intellectual ambiance in which the work was written.

Chapter Six traces the development of interest in rhetoric by the modernist, Western-influenced, school of writers. Ekrem's Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt — and in particular the first section of the book, which he himself considers his most original contribution — is analysed in detail; once again an attempt is made to assess the extent to which the theory of literature which he presents would have been understood by his students.

Throughout this study, passages cited in either Ottoman, Persian or Arabic have been transcribed according to the system adopted by the İslâm Ansiklopedisi, all three languages being vowelled according to the conventional Turkish pronunciation. Ottoman texts have been given an archaic vowelling with the exception of Tanzimat prose passages. Although inconsistencies have been unavoidable, it is not anticipated that this system will create difficulties for readers accustomed to conventional Turkish transcription.

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE 'İLMÜ 'L-BELĀĠA

The 'ilmü 'l-belāġa is made up of three constituent parts, the sciences of me'ānī, beyān and bedī', divisions which are, as we have seen, more the result of historical accident than of systematic analysis and organisation. Ṣarf, nahv, me'ānī, beyān and bedī', the five sciences which correspond to the western concepts of grammar and rhetoric, do however possess a logical unity, providing the scholar with the means of analysing language at every level, from the formation of a single word to the most complex literary trope. The 'ilmü 's-sarf, usually rendered in English as morphology, deals with the formation of words, while the 'ilmü 'n-nahv is concerned with the phrase and sentence. The latter, often loosely translated as the science of syntax, discusses the relationship of words to one another within a group and the "surface" meaning of the group as a whole. The "deep" meaning, however, can only be analysed by reference to the science of me'ānī, sometimes translated literally as the science of semantics.

The surface meaning is that which is explicitly stated in language and requires the reader neither to make an assumption nor to refer to context. However, as virtually

every utterance is made through words which either in themselves or in their relationship admit to a degree of alternative interpretation, the reader must inevitably assume what is implicit and unconsciously interpret a meaning deeper than that on the surface. Two phrases current in the British press at the time of the composition of the Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt serve well to illustrate the inadequacy of nahv and the necessity of me'ānī as an aid to understanding how certain linguistic features function.

At the outset of the Russo-Turkish war of 1876-77 it was common to discuss the "Bulgarian Horrors" or "Ottoman Atrocities" in reference to those Christians massacred by Muslims. Although just as many Muslims were killed by Christians, the anti-Ottoman speeches of Gladstone had so conditioned the British readership that had those phrases been juxtaposed — "Ottoman Horrors" and "Bulgarian Atrocities" — they would have evoked the same image in the mind of the reader. This one instance of the problem is common to both Arabic and English: we have a phrase consisting of adjective and noun, the latter containing a verbal notion which is transitive, while in the former is implied the agent of the verb. The reader must determine for himself as to whether the agent is the subject or object of the verbal notion, the "surface" meaning of the phrase offering no clear indication. As Arabic syntax (nahv) deals with the semantic possibilities allowed by the inflections of the constituent words in a



phrase, it is concerned only with the "surface" meaning, that is to say it ascribes only as much meaning to a phrase as can be deduced from the case-endings. The "deep" meaning, that is the writer's intention, is to be understood by reference to the context. The analysis of this process is the subject matter of the 'ilmü 'l-me'ānī.<sup>1</sup>

Me'ānī, not relying on inflection as the criterion for the classification of its materials, falls outside the realm of Arabic grammar. It has, therefore, been placed in the 'ilmü 'l-belāġa, which comprises those linguistic sciences which analyse semantic expression at the non-inflectional level. After the composition of the Telhīs, there intervened centuries in which there was no real debate or even discussion of literary theory until, in the Nineteenth Century, the Ottoman scholars rejected me'ānī from their consideration of rhetoric. Western orientalist have almost unanimously shunned me'ānī as a science of no great

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1 Although the choice of "deep meaning" and "surface meaning" reflects, to some extent, the concept of deep and surface structure used by some contemporary linguistic theoreticians, it should be emphasised that the similarities are slight, but nevertheless significant. See G. Leech, Semantics (London, 1974) and F. Palmer, Grammar (London, 1971), also chapter entitled "Context" in G. W. Turner, Stylistics (London, 1973).

relevance to the student of literary theory, for both they and Ottoman scholars, too, found difficulty in reconciling it with a western approach to the subject, dismissing it to the realms of linguistics. As Western scholars of Arabic grammar generally restricted themselves to the study of sarf and nahv, that is grammar in the Arabic context, and Western rhetoricians to the study of beyān and bedī', that is literary rhetoric in the Western sense, the study of me'ānī has tended to be overlooked. Although this present treatment follows the practice of considering me'ānī as having no great relevance to the study of literary rhetoric in its Western sense, it does nevertheless hold that it has a place within the 'ilmū 'l-belāga, and indeed merits more comment than either beyān or bedī', which have been the subject of some study in the West.

The Telhīs is divided into an introduction (mukaddime) and three chapters dealing with me'ānī, beyān and bedī'. These four sections form an organic unity: the introduction defines the twin concepts of feṣāhat and belāgat, me'ānī renders speech appropriate to the occasion, beyān explores the various modes of expressing a single idea, and bedī' treats of the means of adorning language. Each of the constituent parts is defined according to its pedagogical function, that of enabling the student to employ the material in order to acquire good style. Although the early rhetoricians sought merely to establish the principles of the science in order to understand the

mechanics of language, by the time the Telhīs was compiled, the discipline had undergone a metamorphosis. It had ceased to be a science which sought to discover the qualities inherent in good style, and had been transformed into a school-book postulating theorems, with the mastery and practice of which lay the implicit promise that the reader would be endowed with good style. Thus, while me'ānī is defined as a science which teaches the student how to render speech appropriate to the occasion, it is in fact a treatise on semantic distinctions below the "surface" meaning of the phrase. Beyān, the science which allows the student to express a single idea in a variety of ways, is in fact no less than a penetrating study of the psychological bases of various figures of speech, while bedī', ostensibly offering the student the means to adorn his language, is in reality no more than a catalogue of literary tropes.

The mukaddime to the Telhīs attempts to define belāḡat in its widest sense. It is a quality which may exist in speech and the speaker only when they are fasīh (pure). In describing the pre-requisite quality of fesāhat, the Telhīs lists a series of stylistic faults which render speech impure. It is at this point that the work is most coherent, for here it approaches the complex concept of style through its negative attributes (p. 24).

The science of me'ānī is divided into a preface and eight sections. The first seven of these sections is concerned with literal ambiguity in statements and the means by which the reader arrives at a meaning. The first section, entitled "Ahvālū 'l-isnādi 'l-ḥaberī", deals with the nominal sentence, in which are identified three distinct modes of declarative speech. The first, the ibtidā'ī, is assertive, and is used to address an audience receptive to the speaker's ideas. The second, the talebī, is employed to persuade the hesitant, while the third, the inkārī, the argumentative mode, is used when addressing an audience resistant to the proposition.

The second and third sections entitled "Ahvālū 'l-Mūsned ileyh" and "Ahvālū 'l-Mūsned" respectively, deal with the subject and predicate of a declarative sentence. The purpose of these is to account for situations where the normative pattern, consisting of subject and predicate, seems to be violated. At the simplest level the problem posed is this: why does an utterance, which, according to the rules of sarf and nahv, has no semantic value, acquire significance in some situations. In other words, why are the words "cā'e" or "Zeydūn" meaningful when one is uttered without the other? The answer lies in the context in which they are spoken: to deliver a speech consisting only of the word "Zeydūn" would be meaningless, but to deliver the same utterance in response to the question "Who came?" would be. Indeed, it may

even be considered inappropriate to reply "Zeyd came". It is, therefore, considered that in certain cases it is appropriate to utter the complete declarative sentence, while in others only the subject (mūsnaḍ ileyh). Similarly, the subject may be suppressed in response to the question "What did Zeyd do?", or in situations where it has already been established.

The fourth section, entitled "Ahvālū mūta'allakātī 'l-fi'l", is concerned with the verbal sentence. Here an attempt is made to account for the suppression of the agents of the verb, as in the Koranic verse,

"Kul: hel yestive 'l-lezīn<sup>e</sup> ya'lemūn<sup>e</sup> ve-'l  
-lezīn<sup>e</sup> lā ya'lemūn?" (39,9)<sup>1</sup>

in which the object of the verse is unspecified and must be understood from context.

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1 Telḥīs, 126. Trans: "Say, are they equal those who know and those that do not know?" Various interpretations have been made concerning the object of the verb "know". Teftāzānī, in the Muṭavvel, suggests that the context favours interpreting "know" as referring to absolute knowledge as opposed to knowledge of a specific concept (p. 191).

The fifth section, "Kasr", examines and classifies the function of restricted statements. The concept of restriction poses a problem of deciding its precise function, the text of the Telhis offering a solution in the proliferation of categories into which restricted statements may be placed. The analysis begins, for example, with two "real" types of restrictions illustrated in the following sentences:

"Mā Zeyd<sup>ūn</sup> illā kātib<sup>ūn</sup>"

"Mā fi 'd-dār<sup>l</sup> illā Zeyd<sup>ūn</sup>" (p. 137)

They are both real in the sense that the surface meaning is that which is intended, in other words they are both to be understood literally. However the author does qualify this by adding that the first type of sentence is rarely met with, as it is virtually impossible to qualify any one concept with a single attribute, to the exclusion of all others. In the second example the speaker means to deny the existence of anything in the house, with the exception of Zeyd, the purpose of the denial being to achieve hyperbole. The sentence is classified as real because the concept of the uniqueness of Zeyd within the house is real, although the intention is not. The treatment then proceeds to the unreal category where the surface and the deep meanings are not the same. Although we have a proliferation of categories, they seek to answer the same question: what is the intended meaning in a given

ambiguous statement. Let us take, for instance, the restricted statement, "John is good." What the reader must decide is which element of the statement is being restricted: does it, in other words, suggest that it is John, and he only, who is good or that he is good, but nothing else. When we take into consideration semantic implication of the tense of the verb, we have several possible permutations of meaning.

Inṣā, the sixth topic of discussion, is concerned with the expression of wishes and desires, and explores the various possible types of interrogative and optative mode. This section focuses on the object of the desire expressed, classifying it, among other criteria, according to whether it is attainable and to whether it has already been attained or not. This investigation was prompted in part by some Koranic utterances which if accepted literally would have presented serious problems. A commentator on this section illustrates the problem with the following verse:

"Yā eyyūhe 'n-nebīyū ittaki 'llāh" (33/1)

where God commands His prophet to fear Him. But surely God is already feared and the wish expressed is redundant. The problem of interpretation is solved by classifying this wish as "desiring what is already attained", which thus becomes a means of emphasising the importance of the original request.

The seventh section, "El-faṣl<sup>ü</sup> ve-'l-vaṣl", deals with the problem of conjunctions by examining their function. Conjunctions play a critical role in speech, and the fact that many languages have so few of them, often relying on one single word — such as "and" — to fulfill a variety of roles, forces one to ask whether they have any precise semantic value at all. The problem is exacerbated in a language such as Arabic which does not admit to an established system of punctuation, and is even more noticeable in high Ottoman prose style. As the questions posed are self-evident, they do not require comment, save to observe that in the Telhīs the scholastic approach is employed, the problem being analysed through a variety of permutations of the possibilities.

The final section, "El-İcāz<sup>ü</sup> ve-'l-İtnāb<sup>ü</sup> ve-'l-mūsāvāt", deals with three modes of speech: the concise, the prolix and the proportionate. Here some observations are made on style according to the criterion of the length to which the speaker goes to convey an idea. The early literary critics had observed that a concept could be expressed either succinctly or verbosely, and that both modes could be justified according to the requirement of the situation. The proportionate mode renders every concept with a single word, so that a balance between words and concepts is maintained. What had originally been mere observations arising from a few instances of



excessively succinct or verbose statements, became a criterion for classifying all language.

However irrelevant the 'ilmü 'l-me'ānī may be for the literary theorist, it was a science which held a great appeal for Islamic scholars, providing them with the means for interpreting speech where the meaning was not immediately apparent. Whereas nahv approaches the subject of semantics by taking a concept and exploring the means available to express it, me'ānī begins with the utterance and attempts to discover the meaning behind it. The method employed is that of logical analysis: given a certain speech pattern all possible meanings are identified and then classified. It was to the 'ilmü 'l-me'ānī that the Koranic scholars had recourse, in order to justify an interpretation of an utterance which had either no apparent surface meaning, or one which was in apparent violation of reason or faith.

The 'ilmü 'l-beyān is concerned with the analysis of certain figures of speech, among which most attention is given to the simile, the metaphor and metonymy. This chapter is based ultimately on the Esrārü 'l-Belāgha of 'Abdülkāhīr el-Cürcānī, presenting the sophisticated analysis of the original in a compact form suitable for memorisation.<sup>1</sup> We have in beyān a study of figurative

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1 See Asrār al-Balāgha, ed. H. Ritter (Istanbul, 1954) for text; German translation also by Ritter (Weisbaden, 1959).

language, analysed and classified according to the way in which it operates on the psychology of the listener rather than on simple linguistic analysis. Most speech which is not intended to be understood literally will belong to the domain of beyān.<sup>1</sup>

The analysis seeks to discover the psychological mechanism which prevents the reader from taking the statement at face value. In other words, it seeks to solve the problem why it is that when one says "Zeyd is a lion", the listener will usually discard the literal meaning — i.e. the lion's name is Zeyd — and choose the intended and more complex image of a man called Zeyd, who shares

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1 See Telhīs, 235-346; A. F. Mehren, Die Rhetorik der Araber (Copenhagen and Vienna, 1853), Arabic text: 6-42, notes: 53-96. For an historical survey of the use of the term see article entitled "Bayān" in E.I.<sup>2</sup> by G. E. Grunebaum. The best summary treatment of the science in English can be found in W. Andrews, An Introduction to Ottoman Poetry (Minneapolis and Chicago, 1976), 75-85. A French translation of the theory of beyān and bedī' can be found in J. H. Garcin de Tassy, Rhétorique et Prosodie des Langues de L'Orient Musulman, 2nd Ed (Paris, 1873), which is based on the Ḥadā'iku 'l-Belāga, a Persian work very much dependent on the Telhīs.

only one or two attributes in common with a lion. The chapter on beyān presents a fairly convincing answer. The solution to the problem lies in identifying a factor, operating at the psychological level, which precludes the listener from interpreting the speech literally. The factor is termed the karīne or the vech-i şibh according to the type of figurative speech employed. The analysis of the sentence, "Zeyd is a lion", would, in simplified terms, be presented thus:

By "Zeyd is a lion" is intended "Zeyd is like a lion", the particle of comparison having been suppressed. The listener knows that Zeyd is not a lion from the context of the speech, or from his own experience, in which case he relies on two principles: firstly, Zeyd is a name commonly given to men; secondly, Zeyd is a name not usually given to lions. So far the listener has made an interpretation at the linguistic level: he has, either consciously or subconsciously, supplied an element in the speech which had been suppressed, the word "like". The second state is to identify what is termed "the basis of comparison" (vech-i şibh), in other words, to answer the question, "In what respect is Zeyd like a lion?". From amongst those characteristics that Zeyd and a lion may have in common as part of animal creation, the listener instinctively eliminates those qualities which are the obvious points of difference between the two and his attention is turned to those which might be shared.

Amongst these the qualities of temperament characterise behaviour, thereby confining the basis of resemblance to such observable features of the lion as ferocity, courage, voracity, etc. The total context of the statement will suggest the choice amongst these attributes and understand which is most applicable to Zeyd within the purpose of the statement. How this choice is made will ultimately depend upon the history of the language and it is assumed in the definition of the Telḥīs that there is a fund of received comparison which is as organic to the language as vocabulary and grammar.

This then is the method of analysis at its simplest level, metaphor and metonymy being very much more complex figures. Although beyān is presented as a science which investigates the various means by which a single idea may be expressed, it could in fact be better described as the discipline which explores the way in which figurative speech operates, the sciences of sarf, nahv and me'ānī having already dealt with literal speech.

Bedī', the science by which one may render speech ornate, consists of those figures of speech collected by the early literary critics and incorporated into belāga by El-Ḳazvīnī. The Telḥīs identifies thirty-seven distinct figures which are divided into two groups, thirty figures of thought (ma'neviye) and seven figures of speech (lafziye). In the former the play is on the meaning of

the word or phrase, while in the latter the result is achieved through exploiting the shape or sound of an individual word, or by placing the words in such an order as to produce a particular effect. Naturally, the thirty-seven figures in the Telhīs by no means represent all the figures of Islamic rhetoric. This section merely includes a partial catalogue of some of the accepted figures at the time of the composition of the work, and apart from the crude division into ma'nevīye and lafzīye, has no overall integrity. Later authors have consequently felt free to add to or reject these at will.<sup>1</sup>

The traditional approach therefore, consists of three distinct sciences, of which the first, me'ānī, has little relevance to the second and third, except within the wider context of the five linguistic sciences which include sarf and nahv. The Telhīs was to acquire such a

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1 For a definition of the term see article "Badī'" in E.I.<sup>2</sup> by M. Khalafallah. For text see Telhīs, 348-408; also Mehren, op. cit., Arabic text: 63-93, notes: 97-147. F. Gladwin's Dissertation on the Rhetoric, Prosody and Rhyme of the Persians (London, 1801) contains a fairly detailed treatment of many of the figures of bedī'. For Ottoman, see Gibb, History of Ottoman Poetry, I, 112-124, and Andrews, Introduction to Ottoman Poetry, 85-111.

firm hold on the educational system of the medieval Islamic World that the historical reasons behind this artificial unity were generally overlooked. This tri-partite organisation of the materials of belāḡa was to frustrate attempts by the Ottomans to create a Turkish rhetoric. Many Ottoman rhetoricians naturally assumed that belāḡa was synonymous with Islamic literary theory, and their attempts to accomodate the 'ilmü 'l-me'ānī did much to retard the development of a Turkish model.

Another major fault in the traditional approach lies in its method of presentation. In certain respects Arabic rhetorical theory represents a particularly sophisticated analysis of language, such as has been achieved in the West only within the last fifty years. The Telhīs reduces much of this so concisely that it virtually demanded those commentaries which inevitably looked to the more lucid presentations of the earlier rhetoricians whose works had been therein epitomised. This schoolbook approach to rhetoric seems to have met the needs of the educational system rather than the subject itself. Only in the case of bedī' can one regard the treatment as adequate, and only then with the implicit understanding that the text is merely a vehicle for the commentary.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE STUDY OF RHETORIC WITHIN THE MEDRESE

Like most of the Arabic classical sciences, rhetoric was studied in the medrese system, and this was to have dominant influence on its development from the time when the Telhīs was first adopted as a standard textbook in the Fourteenth Century to the period of the Tanzīmāt. The conservative attitude, on the part of the 'ulemā, towards the teaching of the medieval medrese curriculum ensured that once a book was accepted into the syllabus, its position became so entrenched that it was virtually impossible to remove it. There was no mechanism for reviewing or altering the syllabus, even if the educational establishment had so desired. As far as the teaching of rhetoric was concerned, no conscious effort was made to provide text-books which were in any way graded, in respect of the differing levels of knowledge among the students in the various grades of medrese. It would seem that the student must have had great difficulty coming to grips with the subject in his first year, but would presumably have found it easier as he progressed through the curriculum. The Telhīs itself is in many ways as difficult as any of its commentaries, and no part of it is truly satisfactory until it has been studied through all of them. One must presume that the various levels

of teaching were graded by differing standards required from the student, in respect of the same material. In the lower grades one would probably expect memorisation of definitions, without detailed elucidation, as the aim of the class, while at the higher level a real understanding of the commentary would be expected of the student. This is suggested by the nature of the Telḥīs, which is brief to the point of being cryptic and can only be understood with the aid of a commentary. Its adoption as part of the syllabus was in part due to its brevity which allowed students to assimilate the facts without necessarily understanding them, in very much the same way that Christian sects have used catechisms to instill the bases of doctrine into the memories of children too young to be aware of the implications of those articles of faith. It may, however, be argued that the purpose of this epitome was not only to facilitate the students' task of learning the principles of rhetoric by heart, but also to serve as a text on which the teacher could provide his own commentary. This latter aim would, of course, soon have been frustrated by the adoption of a body of commentary and super-commentary as text books, which, in their turn, became part of the canon of rhetorical study. The further epitomes and versifications of the Telḥīs would tend to support the argument that at the earlier stages of study, memorisation of the text was actively encouraged. One may, with some justification, divide all the works derived from the Miftāḥü 'l-'Ulūm into two categories: on the one



hand epitomes and versifications, and on the other works of elucidation, the former to be taught at the lower level, the latter at the higher.<sup>1</sup>

In C. Baltacı's Osmanlı Medreseleri an effort is made to discover the actual system of teaching in the various grades of medreses, and his investigations have led him to the conclusion that only in three classes of school was rhetoric included in the curriculum. According to this, the student would begin his study with the Mutavvel, passing onto the serh of the Miftāh and completing his study with the Miftāhü 'l-'Ulūm itself.<sup>2</sup> One cannot be entirely satisfied with this description, mainly because of the piecemeal manner in which the information was collected from the sources; but in default of any more specific description of medrese education, it must serve as a general guide to what could have been the course prescribed for a student in the various subjects in which he was expected to qualify.

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1 Kātib Çelebī, probably an exception to the rule, studied belāğat in the eighth and ninth year of his ten-year period of higher education, see Ali Uğur, The Ottoman 'Ulemā in the mid-17th Century: an Analysis of the Vakā'i'ü 'l-Fużalā of Mehmed Seyhī Ef. (Ph.D. Thesis: Edinburgh University, 1973), I, 341.

2 pp. 37-39.

Uzunçarşılı merely indicates that among other, unnamed, works the Miftāh, the Telhīs, the Mutavvel, the Muhtasar and the hāṣiyes of Cürcānī, Hasan b. Şemseddīn Fenarī and Mollā Husrev were read. In the lower grade medreses the Mutavvel and the Miftāh were studied, their commentaries and glosses being left to a higher grade.<sup>1</sup>

A survey of the surviving manuscripts of the standard texts on rhetoric from the libraries in Istanbul, now collected together in the Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, will serve as an index of the relative popularity of the work, and the date of copying, where given, should indicate the period in which it was still being read. The most popular texts are, as one would expect, the Telhīs (155 copies), followed by the Mutavvel (69), the Muhtasar (60) and the Hāṣiye 'ale 'l-Mutavvel of Cürcānī (48).<sup>2</sup> These were the

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1 Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı, pp. 26-27; 39-40.

2 The dates would indicate that these works were copied through the entire Ottoman period, the following statistical count suggests that in every case (except for the hāṣiye of Cürcānī, which seems to have been most popular in the 15th Century) that the 17th Century was the period which witnessed the greatest activity in the production of text-books on rhetoric.

main works studied in the Ottoman Empire from the period before the conquest to the present century.<sup>1</sup> In addition to these, two works which had great currency are the Mesālik, an abridgement of the Telhīs (19 copies), and the Hevādi, a ṣerh on the former (13), both by Nūreddīn Hamza Aydinī (d. 979/1571). 'Abdūllāh b. Ṣihābeddīn el-Yezdī (d. 1015/1606) seems to have achieved some popularity with his three works: a hāṣiye to the Mutavvel, a hāṣiye to the Muhtasar and a hāṣiye to the hāṣiye to Nizāmeddīn 'Osmān el-Hitā'ī (d. 901/1495) (total 27 copies). Mollā Ḥusrev and Fenarī's hāṣiyes to the Mutavvel are represented by ten and eight copies respectively.

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Century A.D.	<u>Telhīs</u>	<u>Muhtasar</u>	<u>Mutavvel</u>	Cürcānī
Fourteenth	12	13	7	0
Fifteenth	5	23	27	48
Sixteenth	28	16	15	8
Seventeenth	32	51	44	32
Eighteenth	23	7	7	12
	100	100	100	100
Sample	63	32	41	25

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- 1 A manuscript of Cürcānī (d. 1413), written in Gelibolu and dated 846/1442 would suggest that the curriculum had already been in the process of formulation even in so early a period.

In the Nineteenth Century the printing presses ended the need for manuscript copying as the sole means of publishing texts. From 1241/1825 a steady stream of books on rhetoric emerged from the newly-founded presses in the capital. One may presume that these medrese text-books were printed to meet the demands of the students, the order and quantities in which they were published reflecting their popularity at the time. One must accept, of course, that the choice of any particular title may reflect nothing more than the whim of the publishers, its subsequent popularity and reprints being due entirely to that initial choice. While the government may have used the printing presses as an arm of state policy in order to further the goal of modernisation, it is hardly likely that it had any vested interest in the promotion of one classical text over another.

The first works to be published were the hāṣiyes of 'Abdūlhakīm es-Siyālkūṭī in 1227/1812 (rep. 1241, 1266, 1290, 1311) and Cūrcānī in 1241/1825 (rep. 1271, 1289), followed by Teftāzānī's Muḥtaṣar in 1259/1843 (rep. 1267, 1268, 1289, 1304) and Muṭavvel in 1260/1844 (rep. 1286). The Telḥīs itself appeared in 1260/1844 (rep. 1275, 1280), followed by Ḥasan Çelebi Fenarī's hāṣiye in 1271/1854, and 'Iṣāmeddīn İbrāhīm el-İsferāyīnī's ṣerḥ in 1284/1867. It would seem that with the exception of the Telḥīs, the Muḥtaṣar and Muṭavvel, and Cūrcānī's hāṣiye, commentaries were as subject to the whims of the age as fashionable

dress. Aydinī's commentaries were popular in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, but were never set in print, while İsferyānī's şerh, which can be found in only two manuscripts in the Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, was nevertheless published.

It is a peculiar phenomenon of the medrese educational establishment that such a universal and uniform school system should have left so little direct evidence of the nature of its syllabus. Despite the material at hand in the biographies of the 'ulemā, today's scholar is still relatively ignorant of the titles of the books, the manner of their presentation and the level at which they were taught. One may, however, in default of a comprehensive description, justifiably speculate that the syllabus of the medrese changed little from the Fourteenth Century until the middle of the Nineteenth.<sup>1</sup> What is clear is that the medrese did not have a monopoly of higher education and rhetoric could be, and indeed was, studied from works which did not acquire a place on the medrese syllabus.

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1 İbn Haldūn (d. 1406) noted that El-Ḳazvīnī's works were standard text-books in his day (Mukaddime [Cairo, 1322/1904], 457-8; Trans [London, 1958] III, 322-39). Cevdet Paşa describes his education, which included the study of the Mutavvel (about 1840), in his Tezākir (IV, 10). İbn Haldūn also commented on the harmful effect of epitomes on the educational system (p. 443; Trans III, 290).

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE STUDY OF RHETORIC OUTSIDE THE MEDRESE

The Ottoman literati were men of divided cultural orientation, within each two personae ever vying for dominance. Just as the Renaissance Italian accepted and cultivated the two distinct traditions of pagan Hellenism and Judaeo-Christianity, the Ottoman looked towards Persia and the Arabic-speaking world. The former represented his aesthetic values, embodied in poetry as diverse as that of Celāleddīn Rūmī and Ḥāfīz, while the latter held his scholastic tradition, kept alive in the medrese curriculum. The cultured Ottoman manifested a synthesis of these two traditions, at home in the Islamic sciences, but, at the same time, capable of turning an elegant couplet — or, indeed, of composing a complete dīvān — a man like Şeyhülislām Yahyā Ef. It is to be remarked that there are few Ottomans, of any scholarly distinction, who are not credited by their biographers with the ability to write poetry. These two traditions are distinct, for, although the Persian poets might have faced Mecca five times daily, their works expressed values, which, taken literally, could never be reconciled with Islam. Delighting in ambiguity and allusion, they affect a mode which blurs the edges of reality and pursues the spiritual with metaphors drawn from the profane. The Arabic mode, by

contrast, is literal and precise, attempting to establish truth by defining the spiritual in the language of logic. The cultural balance in this duality was only maintained by the conscious effort of the Ottomans to resist the constant threat of puritanism while at the same time, ostracising those who rejected the fundamental tenets of religion. The Kādī-zādes were at one time almost successful in obliterating this cultural plurality with its many wholly secular values; but, like their Florentine counterpart, Savonarola, their cause was defeated, the tolerance of the cultured triumphing over the bigotry of the zealots.

The Ottomans, having arrived at a time when both the medrese curriculum and the Persian mystical tradition had passed through their formative periods, unquestioningly accepted both in their entirety, using the one to complement the other. Kādī Beyzāvī finds his counterpart in Mevlānā Celāleddīn Rūmī, both presenting separate paths to the same goal, an understanding of God, but the one through a scholastic analysis of His Word, the other through mystical analogy. Similarly, the Ottoman student of rhetoric, perplexed by the uncompromisingly theoretical approach of the Telhīs, could always have recourse to its Persian equivalent, the Menāzırü 'l-İnşā.

The author of the Menāzırü 'l-İnşā, Maḥmūd b. Şeyḥ Muḥammed Gīlānī, known as Ḥ<sup>v</sup>āce-i Cihān, was born in Gilan, and after travelling as a merchant took employment

at the court of 'Alā'eddīn Hūmāyūn Zālim Behmenī (d. 865/1461) in northern Deccan, and rose to the vizierate under his successors, Nizām Ṣāh (d. 867/1463) and Muḥammed III Leşkerī (d. 887/1482), who had him executed in 886/1481. Apart from the Menāẓırü 'l-İnşā, he compiled his elegant letters in the collection entitled the Riyāzu 'l-İnşā, and is credited with a dīvān. During his vizierate the Behmenid state became the first in India to exchange ambassadors with the Ottoman empire, one of the letters in the Riyāzu 'l-İnşā being addressed to Mehmed II Fātiḥ.<sup>1</sup> It is very probable that this diplomatic interaction between these two distant states accounts for the arrival of a copy of the Menāẓır in Istanbul, very likely within the lifetime of the author. In the Ottoman Empire it achieved some popularity, to the extent of being translated in the early 17th Century, both its text and translation being later published.<sup>2</sup>

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1 The best source for the life of Gīlānī is Feriṣte's History of the Behmenid Dynasty, see History of the Rise of Mahomedan Power in India, Trans. J. Briggs, 4 vols. (London, 1829), II, 453-511.

2 The printed edition of the Menāẓırü 'l-İnşā was published in Istanbul, no date being given, but very probably in the 1860's. The page references are to this edition.



The Menāzırü 'l-İnşā is, as suggested by its title, a work on epistolography. Its importance to the study of rhetoric lies in its introduction, which offers an abridged presentation of the basis of rhetorical theory.<sup>1</sup> Omitting the section on me'ānī and bedī', the Menāzır proceeds from the definition of belāğat and feṣāhat (pp. 18-22) to the study of beyān (pp. 22-49). To this is added a chapter on the various types of poetic form and a treatise on inşā with several examples of the art of the münşī. Although the section on belāğat is intended as a mere introduction to the proper subject of the work, inşā, its treatment is extremely satisfying. The most casual perusal through the work will immediately impress on the reader the advantages it possesses over the Telhīs and its derivatives. When dealing with the faults incidental to feṣāhat, he quotes the examples in the Telhīs, explains them, and then proceeds to illustrate the point with several Persian couplets of his own choice. By presenting the rhetorical theory by way of a preamble to the main section of his work, Ḥvāce-i Cihān has reduced it to the status of an ancillary science, while at the same time restoring to it utility and purpose, which had been denied it by the Arabic theoreticians. Here its applicability to

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1 Taşköprizāde acknowledges the importance of this work of inşā in the Miftāḥü 's-Sa'āde (I, 182), indicating that it was popular among the Ottoman 'Ulemā and the Persian Fuṣalā.

the needs of the secretary is no longer implicit, it has become the very raison d'être of this science.

Unlike the Telhīs, the popularity of the Menāzırü 'l-İnşā is not due to historical accident; lying outside the medrese curriculum, it earned its place in the literature of Islamic rhetoric entirely on the strength of its own intrinsic merits. It is in its method of presentation that lies its greatest appeal: the definition is the same as in the Telhīs, the explanation is identical, the example is, in the first instance, borrowed therefrom, but then, having completed the theoretical exposition, HVāce-i Cihān, almost with an air of relief at having discharged an onerous duty, provides several examples which entertain and delight the reader. In his hands, rhetoric is no longer an alien science mastered for its own sake, it has become a tool of poetic expression, the handmaiden to a shared aesthetic.

The Menāzır was translated by İsmā'īl Anḳarevī, Rūsūhī (d. 1041/1631), a Mevlevī şeyh, best known for his commentary on the Meşnevī. He wrote the Miftāhü 'l-Belāğa ve Mısbāhü 'l-Fesāha, in response to a request by two of his grandchildren, both students of rhetoric who were experiencing difficulty in understanding the Telhīs. He intended his translation to be a guide to this epitome and explains his motives for writing it thus:

"Zübde-i evlād-ı ma'nevī ve zümre-i aḥfādumuñ aṣṣlaḥı ve ehl-i ṭalebi, ya'nī, Dervīṣ 'Āmil ve Mehmed Şādık Çelebi — yessera 'llāh li-hüme 'l-'ilme 'l-edebī — vaḳtā ki ṣan'at-i ṣi'r ve ma'rifet-i inşāya ṭālib, ve 'ilm-i belāğat ve fenn-i feṣāḥate rāğıb olub; bu fakīr-i mevlevī, a'nī Şeyḫ İsmā'īl Anḳareviden Ḥatīb-i Dimişķinüñ aḡmaż-ı muṣannefātından olan metn-i Telhīsi ta'allüme şürü' idüb; ḥālbuki anlaruñ ol fennde yedleri kaşır olduğından, ol kitāb-ı belāğat -nıṣābda münderic bulınan ma'nā-yı dakīkanuñ fehmi zihnlerine 'asır geldigi cihetle 'ilm-i mezkūra iştigālden sīr-ü-melül olmışlar idi. Bu fakīr-i keşirü 't-takşirüñ derünında şefakat-i fıṭriye ve merḥamet-i cibillīye cūşa gelüb, anlara ve anlardan ḡayrı ṭālib-i belāğat-ü -feṣāḥat olanlara teshīl itmek içün, ol kitāb-i bedī'ü 'l-esāsuñ bedī'-ü-beyānına müte'allık olan, ve fennlerinden ṭullāba ehemm-ü-elzem olan ebyāt-u-keleimāt telhīş-ü-iktibās kılınub, Türkī 'ibārāt üzre terceme-vü-tefsīr olındı." (pp. 2-3)

Here we have an explicit condemnation of the method of presentation employed by the Telhīş. He praises the students for whom he is writing this work, and finds their inability to comprehend "the most obscure of Ḥatīb-i Dimişķi's writings" a matter for sympathy rather than reproach. He later explains the choice of title:

"Ümīddür ki bu cevher-i şeb-tāb ve tuḥfe-i  
kem-yāb Miftāḥa miftāḥ, ve fūnūn-i belāḡate  
mute'allik olan kütūbe nisbetle mişbāḥ ola" (p. 4)

The implication here is that the existing works on rhetoric are obscure, and he sees it as his purpose to shed light on the system of poetics and rhetoric, so that the reader may be better able to understand the secrets of the Mesnevī and the Traditions of the Prophet, and to appreciate the miraculous nature of the Koran. Although the Miftāḥ is virtually a direct translation of the Menāzırü 'l-İnşā, Rūsūḫī, in common with most Ottoman rhetoricians, fails to acknowledge his debt thereto. In a preface to the printed edition (1284/1867), the publisher identifies the Menāzır as the source of the Miftāḥ, and describes it as the first work on rhetoric to be written in Turkish, a claim which cannot be justified, except in so far as it was indeed the first to be published:

"İşbu Miftāḥü 'l-Belāḡa nām kitāb-ı ma'ārif  
-nısbāb ki fi 'l-ḥaḳīḳa fenn-i bedī'-ü-beyānda  
lisān-ı Türki üzre yazılmış olan kitābların  
birincisi, ve ṭarīḳ-ı edebīyātda açılmış olan  
ebvāb-ı belāḡatiñ eñ evvelkisi dinmege sezā  
. . . dur." (p. 1)

This is truly a remarkable statement in that the publishers have used the word "edebīyāt" to denote "literature" rather

than the more common "inşā", signifying prose composition, at a period when its use was extremely rare. One wonders if this work was published as a response to Nāmīk Kemāl's plea for a Turkish rhetoric in his article "Lisān-ı 'Osmānīniñ Edebīyātı hakkında ba'zı mülāhazātı şāmildir" in the Taşvīr-i Efkār on the 16th and 19th of Rebī'ü 'l-Āhır of the previous year, 1283. The fact that the Miftāh was published by this newspaper would tend to suggest some connection, and one should perhaps ask whether it was Kemāl himself who recommended its publication. As the editor at the time of the Miftāh's publication, he would surely have had a direct participation in all decisions as to what works were published on the printing presses of his newspaper.<sup>1</sup>

There is no doubt that those who were instrumental in the publication of the Miftāh, be it Kemāl, editor at the time of its publication, or his friend Ekrem, who was to succeed him only ten days after the appearance of this

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1 Kemāl was editor of the Taşvīr-i Efkār until he fled to France on August 31st 1867, ten days after the date of publication of the Miftāh. There was no doubt that Kemāl was familiar with the Menāzır, for in response to a criticism, he defined inşā using the definition given in this work (text given in Küllīyāt-ı Kemāl: Makālāt-ı Siyāsiye ve Edebīye [Istanbul, n.d.], p. 122).

work, were aware of the many virtues it shared in common with the Menāzırü 'l-İnşā. It is, when compared to those tedious and arid works derived exclusively from the Telhīs, a felicitous exposition, for the same reasons which set the Menāzır apart from all other works on rhetoric. It is ironic that a work written in the late Sixteenth or early Seventeenth Century, based on a Fifteenth Century manual of epistolography, should have been deemed worthy of publication in the latter half of the Nineteenth Century, with the encouragement, one presumes, of those members of society most committed to the goals of progress and modernisation.

The failure of the Miftāh to see a second edition is due, more than any other factor, to the bankruptcy of the educational system of this period. The medreses had become the sanctuaries of the conservative pietists whose high regard for the traditional methods had all the fervour of religious conviction. The more secular-minded elements of society, to whom the Miftāh was addressed, sought a radically different approach to literary theory, which could only be based on Western models. There is no doubt, however, that its greatest achievement was that it proved that rhetoric need not be confined within the constricting boundaries laid down by the Telhīs, an idea which was to bear fruit in the Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt of Ekrem.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE TRANSLATION OF THE CLASSICAL THEORY INTO TURKISH

The Telhîs and the Mutavvel were both translated into Turkish, the former in the early Seventeenth Century, the latter only in the second half of the Nineteenth. Although both Turkish versions are entitled "terceme", the term cannot be rendered as "translation" without some qualification. The translation of any technical work from one language into another will necessarily present almost insuperable problems unless a convention allows the translator to borrow words from the language of origin and transfer them, together with all their meanings and nuances, to the borrower language. Just as it would be impossible for a Turk today to translate an English work on electronic engineering without a wholesale transference of much of the technical vocabulary, Ottoman scholars, too, were at a loss for corresponding Turkish terms in their treatment of the Islamic sciences and were forced to resort to excessive borrowing from the language being translated, which was usually Arabic. The fact that the Ottomans preserved the original orthography of Arabic and Persian loan words, together with the accepted theory that virtually all Arabic substantives could be incorporated into the language in their absolute case, and all verbs borrowed

simply by converting them into their appropriate masdar forms, made it only too easy for the translator to produce an accurate translation without actually having to understand completely what he was translating. In many works of translation, the only elements which remain Turkish, to any extent, are the word order and the syntax, and a small percentage of the vocabulary, consisting of the more commonly used words. The Ottomans seemed to have recognised the insuperable problems inherent in translating works with specialised vocabularies and made no great attempt to substitute Turkish words for the Arabic. At the same time they recognised that to simply rearrange the words around a Turkish syntactical structure would be a pointless exercise, except in that it would indicate the grammatical organisation of the Arabic original, to which the reader, we may presume, had to have recourse in order to understand the purport of the work. Clearly it was accepted that merely remoulding the vocabulary into the new shape required by the Turkish syntactical structure was an unrewarding task which promised little return for the effort expended on it, and certainly did not merit the description of "translation". In order to remedy this problem, translators of Arabic works usually adopted the original Arabic word, for it contained all the same subtleties and nuances, or the convenient imprecision and vagueness, of the original, and supplemented it with a synonym, so that a single word in the original would be transformed into a couplet retaining the original word as



its first member and a synonym as its second, verbs being treated likewise. Phrases are usually presented in a form as close to the original as Ottoman usage will allow, and if they are felt to be insufficiently clear — a defect which will be inherent not only in the translation but also in the original —, the translator will repeat the phrase using synonyms, introducing it with the conjunction, "ya'nī" or "el-hāsil" or some similar phrase. However the only solution to the problem of translating the technical language of Arabic rhetorical theory into Turkish lies in following a middle road between strict literal translation and the recension of yet another gloss in Turkish, in order to give meaning to the translation of a work which is obscure in its original language.

The first translation of the Telhīs was made by Mehmed b. Mehmed Altı Parmak (d. 1033/1623), who also translated various other works into Turkish. In addition to his version of the Telhīs, entitled the Kāşifü 'l-'Ulūm ve-Fātihü 'l-Fünūn, he is, also, credited with a translation the Mutavvel.<sup>1</sup> The latter, however, has not been located, and it seems probable that this reference most probably

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1 O. M., I, 212-3, which is based on 'Atā'ī, 758-59.

Although it is not improbable that earlier translations were made, this was the only one known to Kātib Çelebi. Further translations followed but it is not known whether they are extant (see below, p. 51, fn. 1).

arises from the fact that much of the interpretation of the text of the Telhīs was based on a selective use of this commentary.

The Terceme-i Telhīs is more than a mere translation, providing, in fact, a Turkish commentary to this epitome. Although it is based on the Muṭavvel, it presents only the barest outline of this commentary. One may presume that, in common with many commentaries and super-commentaries in the Islamic world, it consists of no more than a fair copy of the author's lecture notes for the classes he was teaching. Given as an appendix to this present study is the entire faṣl which describes mecāz by the suppression or addition of an element. This faṣl was chosen for its brevity, and is thus given in its entirety, the argument being developed within the few lines of the original text:<sup>1</sup>

"Ve-ḳad yuṭlaku 'l-mecāzū 'alā kelimetin  
taḡayyere ḥūkmū i'rābi-hā bi-ḥazfī lafzīn  
ev ziyādeti lafzīn, ke-ḳavli-hī — te'ālā — :  
Ve-cā'e rabbū-ke, ve-es'eli 'l-ḳaryete,  
ve-ḳavli-hī — te'ālā — : leyse ke-misli-hī  
ṣey'ūn, ey emrū rabbi-ke, ve-ehle 'l-ḳaryeti,  
ve-leyse misle-hū ṣey'ūn." (p. 336)

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix One, p. 224.

It is clear that this passage itself requires study and interpretation; the reader with no previous knowledge of rhetoric will be disappointed if he expects to understand its principles after a first perusal of the material therein. One must, therefore, accept this work as an aid to the study of rhetoric to which students could have recourse when the syntax of the original Arabic text presents an obstacle to its understanding. This translation was not, however, widely accepted, a fact attested by the relative scarcity of manuscripts available in Istanbul<sup>1</sup>, from which we may infer that the Terceme-i Telhîs did not meet the demands of students of rhetoric. This is not to deny that there was need for another commentary on the Telhîs, for none of the existing works were completely satisfactory. However, the inability of the students to grasp the purport of the argument in the Telhîs may well have been attributed to a lack of fluency in reading the language, rather than to the intrinsic difficulty of the text. A request for a Turkish translation may have been voiced, but once it was made available it achieved no great currency among the students. Its usefulness lies perhaps in the fact that it forced the

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1 The MS from which the above passage was transcribed was the only copy in all the collections now housed in the Süleymaniye Library.

students to resort to the Arabic Mutavvel in order to understand the principles of rhetoric.<sup>1</sup>

For two hundred and fifty years the Terceme-i Telhīs remained the only translation of the standard Arabic text-book on rhetoric. In the third quarter of the Nineteenth Century the Mutavvel was translated by 'Abdünnāfi' 'İffet Ef. (d. 1308/1890), under the title Nef'-i Mu'avvel: Terceme-i Telhīs-ü-Mutavvel, the manuscript of which was completed in 1278/1861, and an edition printed in two volumes in 1289/1872 and 1290/1873. This work is actually an abridged translation of the entire Mutavvel. In a further appendix is given a translation of the Mutavvel's commentary on the same faṣl as above. 'Abdünnāfi' translates only three-quarters of the passage, omitting the last section which begins: "Kāl<sup>e</sup> sāhibū 'l-Miftāh. . . "2

The translation is basically sound, most of the difficulties in it belonging to the original. Although

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1 The Miftāhū 'l-Belāga alludes to the difficulty of the Telhīs for Turkish students, and was written to meet precisely this need.

2 As the printed edition is rare, an example of the style of this work is given below in Appendix Two (p. 227), being a transcription of the MS in the University Library, Istanbul.

the style of the translation is turgid and could possibly give rise to misunderstanding on several occasions, this is in part due to the respect he shows for his text. He remains as close as possible to the thought and language of the Muṭavvel, and when the latter is obscure or otherwise difficult his translation strives to be faithful, while at the same time showing awareness of the needs of the reader by interpreting obscurities. The text, for example, contains the following phrase: "Ve-'ctizāben bi-ḡab'ı 's-sāmi' 'ane 'z-zelk", which presents difficulties in that while the word "ḡab'" could signify "a rushing headlong", it is more probably used to mean "the upper arm", the sense being figurative: "grabbing the arm of the listener lest he slip". 'Abdūnnāfi' retains the Arabic vocabulary, supplementing it with additional words for greater clarity: "ḡab'-u-bāzū-yı sāmi'ı zelkden ictizāb-u-imsāk". Not all of the translation is so felicitiously rendered into Turkish. When translating the discussion of 'Abdülkāhir's views on this type of mecāz, which is concerned with the nature of the vowel-ling of the final radical, 'Abdūnnāfi' translates "lēm yakta'" as "cezm olinamaz", intending "cezm" to be understood in its non-technical sense. This would have caused the reader no more than a moment's confusion, but could have easily been avoided by the choice of another, more suitable, word.

This work was the first contribution to the revival of rhetoric in the Nineteenth Century, and may be viewed as the final attempt at making classical rhetorical theory relevant to the educational needs of society. Whereas Altı Parmak's translation may be dismissed as no more than lecture notes, the publication of the Nef'-i Mu'avvel was a serious attempt to provide Turkish students with the definitive exposition of classical rhetoric. Although it employed another language in a form which presumably avoided as much possible difficulty to the Turkish student, it nevertheless respects the integrity of the original by preserving its basic vocabulary. This work must surely have contributed to an awareness on the part of the Ottoman scholar that belāḡa, as based on the Telḥīs, was to be studied for its own sake; but that it had no great value as an aid to understanding Arabic, or relevance for those wishing to acquire a good Ottoman prose style. Ironically this translation, which in all probability was an honest attempt to come to terms with belāḡa by offering an alternative approach to the servile memorisation of the Telḥīs, was the first step on the road to creating a rhetoric of Turkish which, if realised, would render the Telḥīs completely obsolete.

Four years after the publication of the translation of the Mu'avvel (1290/1873), there appeared the Belāḡat-i Lisān-i 'Osmānī, a work which implicitly claimed to be no less than a rhetoric of Ottoman, rather than merely

another Turkish translation of Arabic rhetorical theory. Its author, Ahmed Hamdî Şirvânî (d. 1308/1890), a teacher at the Mekteb-i Hukûk, wrote it at the behest of Cevdet Paşa, presumably intending it to be used as a text-book.<sup>1</sup>

Although the author may be accused of making exaggerated claims for his work by giving it a title which would imply that it was a manual of Turkish rhetorical theory, they do in fact have some substance. Ideally, a rhetoric of the Ottoman language would be deduced from native literary practice and analysed accordingly, compiled by a process which would subject it to analysis exhibiting certain characteristic features, and elaborating a theory thereupon. The preponderance of Arabic and Persian elements in Ottoman prose and poetry, however, would tend to discourage efforts in this direction, especially as there already existed an accepted body of rhetorical teaching which could with ease be adapted to be made seem applicable. Ahmed Hamdî, believing that the Telhîs had a more universal application than that of describing Arabic rhetoric, makes the assumption that Ottoman lay within the confines of this universality, and proceeds to apply it to his own language, without questioning its validity. In most respects this work is a translation of the Telhîs, with the addition of only the minimum explanatory material from the glosses to allow the text to read fluently. His

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1 See the ihtâr, p. 1.

one departure from the practice of previous translators is in the provision of Turkish illustrations, not as mere translations of the Arabic examples, but as instances of a paradigm which the reader is urged to accept as applicable to Turkish in all respects. By providing mainly Turkish illustrations, he implies that the illustrated theory could have been deduced from Ottoman as well as from Arabic.

In the section on me'ānī and beyān, the treatment of the individual faṣls proceeds in the same order and fashion as in the Telhīs, while in the fenn-i bedī' he omits nine of the thirty-eight tropes, altering their order slightly and adding four more. Although it may appear superficially conservative in its approach, and otherwise completely derivative, the Belāġat-i Lisān-ı 'Osmānī is a revolutionary work, in that it implicitly suggests that Arabic rhetorical theory should be studied neither for its own sake, nor as an aid to the study of Arabic literature, but as a tool for the mastery of Ottoman prose and poetry, and as a basis for its literary criticism. On this tacit assumption the author feels freed of the necessity of quoting and explaining Arabic illustrations. He treats most examples, be they Persian, Turkish or Arabic, as an integral part of his own argument, offering elucidation when necessary, but no translation. Sections which cannot be dealt with satisfactorily within a Turkish context, such as the "trope by inflection" — the Turkish translations of which



are given in the appendices to this thesis — are omitted without comment.

In the following example we can observe how Ahmed Hamdî deals with teşbîh. The text of the Telhîs is as follows:

Et-teşbîhü 'd-delāle<sup>tü</sup> 'alā müşāreke<sup>ti</sup>  
emr<sup>in</sup> li-emr<sup>in</sup> fī ma'nā, ve-'l-murād<sup>u</sup> hā-hūnā  
mā lem tekūn 'alā vechi 'l-isti'āreti  
't-tahkīkiye<sup>ti</sup> ve-'l-isti'āre<sup>ti</sup> bi-'l-kināye<sup>ti</sup>  
ve-'t-tecrīd<sup>i</sup>, fe-daḥal<sup>e</sup> fī-h<sup>i</sup> naḥū kavli-nā  
"Zeyd<sup>ün</sup> esed<sup>ün</sup>", ve-kavli-h<sup>i</sup> — te'ālā — :  
"Summ<sup>ün</sup> būkm<sup>ün</sup> 'um<sup>ün</sup>". Ve-'n-nazar<sup>ü</sup> hā-hūnā  
fī erkāni-h<sup>i</sup>, ve-hiy<sup>e</sup> tarafā-h<sup>ü</sup> ve-vechū-h<sup>ü</sup>  
ve-edātū-h<sup>ü</sup> ve-fī 'l-ğaraż<sup>l</sup> min-h<sup>ü</sup> ve-fī  
aḫsāmi-h<sup>i</sup>. (p. 238)

The Ottoman version reads thus:

Teşbîh, bir şey'ün diğer bir şey ile  
 bir ma'nāda müşāreketine delālet itmesine  
 dirler ki ol delālet isti'āre-i tahkīkiye  
 ve isti'āre-i bi-'l-kināye [sic] ve tecrīd  
 tarīki-yle olmiya, megelā: "Zeyd arslandur"  
 dinildükde Zeydün arslan ile ma'nā-yı  
 secā'atde, ve ḍurūb-ı imşālden olduğu üzere  
 "kızların kulağı sağır ve gözi kör ve ayağı

topal olmaludur" dinildükde kör ile ma'nā-yı  
'amāda ve sağır ile aşammīyetde ve topal ile  
gezmemek ma'nālarında iştirāk maḫṣūddur. Yoksa  
ḥaḳīkatde arslan ve kör ve topal olmak maḫṣūd  
degüldür.

Teşbīhüñ dört rükni vardır: biri "müṣebbeh",  
2 "müṣebbehün bi-h", 3 "edāt-ı teşbīh", 4 "vech-i  
teşbīh" . . . (p. 69)

We can see that the author is offering little more than a translation, but with some significant modifications. By altering the example from "Zeydün esedün" to "Zeyd arslandur", Ahmed Hamdī is not merely translating, but in fact is accepting the Turkish version as the real illustration. The Koranic verse on the other hand is abandoned in favour of a proverb which not only illustrates the same point, but is very close to the original in form and content. The fact that one can find authentic Turkish examples of these features of rhetoric, which had previously been illustrated in the Arabic language, is an explicit claim that they are applicable equally to both languages. What is implicit, however, is the notion that if one were to write a rhetoric of Turkish, based on analysis of the language, it would differ little from what we have in the Belāḡat-ı Lisān-ı 'Osmānī. Although he makes no attempt to substitute Turkish technical terms in place of the Arabic, the author makes a conscious effort to Ottomanise Arabic constructions, even to the point of violating

accepted conventions, as in the case of "isti'āre-i bi-'l-kināye". The insertion of the hemze over the final hā of "isti'āre" forces the reader to pronounce this terkīb as if it were a Persian iẓāfe and not an Arabic construction.

In the section devoted to the fenn-i bedī', Ahmed Hamdī provides convincing illustrations, drawing heavily from the stock of Turkish proverbs and poetry, supplementing it with his own simple illustrations and verse compositions. To illustrate ṭībāk (mutābika or taẓadd) (pp. 95-96) he offers the following examples:

dōst ve düşmen; beyāz ve siyāh;

(R. 1) Bezm-ü-rezmi verd [-ü-] ḥār u 'afv-ü-ḥaşmi nūr-u-nār  
Emn-ü-bīmi taḥt-u-dār u mihr-ü-kīni faḥr-u-'ār<sup>1</sup>

bu meseleyi 'ālim bilür, cāhil bilmez;

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- 1 Trans: His friendship and his emnity were like the  
rose with its sharp thorn  
His clemency and anger were like radiant  
light and scorching flame  
His surety and threatening royal throne and  
gallows tree  
His love and hatred were a source of lasting  
glory or of shame.

Allāhdan kork, yalan söyleme; halkdan korkma,  
dogru söyle;

(Muż 2) Dilde safā-yı 'išküñ dīde gamuñla pūr-nem  
Bir evde 'ayş-u-şādī bir evde ye's [-ū-] mātem<sup>1</sup>

It is clear that Ahmed Hamdī has chosen his illustrations with thought and care, so that they require no elucidation and are successful in all respects.

The following year (1294/1877) saw the publication of a work entitled the Zübdetü 'l-Beyān, by Miḥalicī Hāccī Muṣṭafā Ef., a teacher at the Dārü 'ş-Safaka in Istanbul. This text-book is restricted to beyān, and the subject is studied in very much greater detail than in the Belāğat-i Lisān-ı 'Osmānī, which comprises all three branches of the science of rhetoric. Being neither wholly a translation nor a Turkish commentary on the Telhīs, it may be best described as a rationalised rearrangement of the material in the latter, discarding what is impenetrable, elucidating and commenting on the obscure, and translating the obvious. Thus, for example, while he has omitted large portions of the material on teşbīh, he has enlarged the section on

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1 Trans: My heart is joyous in your love my eye is  
moist from grief and care  
In one abode there's mirth and joy in one  
there's sorrow and despair

mecāz-ı mürsel from the few lines in the Telhīs to thirty pages in the Zubdetü 'l-Beyān. Although he always looks to Teftāzānī's commentaries for elucidation and will occasionally use extracts therefrom, the additional material is mainly his own contribution. The work exhibits throughout the painstaking care with which he has sifted through the material of the Telhīs, choosing only that which can be understood without presupposing existing knowledge of the subject, and reorganising it into a more logical framework.

His examples, having been chosen for their appropriateness, are for the greater part extremely helpful, and rarely require more than the minimum explanation. In the first instance, they are generally translations of those in the Telhīs, if they are suitable; when they are not, they are either taken from the Mutavvel, or coined by the author himself. When dealing with mecāz-ı mürsel, he lists all twelve types of adjunct ('alāka) identified in the Telhīs and Mutavvel, providing them with Turkish versions of the same illustrations, to which he adds a further twenty-one types, but with his own illustrations. As an example of the adjunct itlāk, in mecāz-ı mürsel, he offers the following example: "'Kurşun atdım' diyüb, 'tüfenk ile kurşun atdım' dimegi murād itmek gibi" (p. 21); and to illustrate lāzimīyet as an adjunct: "bu Cüm'a Aya Sofya Cāmi'ine gitdim" (p. 26).

It is regrettable that this work did not find greater currency among the students at the new colleges which were being founded at this time. The fact that it was never reprinted and the relative scarcity of its copies indicate the obscurity in which it remained, overshadowed by the Belāġat-i 'Osmāniye of Cevdet Paşa, in which the treatment of beyān is in many respects inferior. The following passage, which once again explains the concept of "trope by inflection", will serve to illustrate some of the virtues of this work:

### 3 Mecāz bi 'z-Ziyāde

Li-ecli 'l-mübālaġa bir lafzı ziyāde iderek söylenen terkiblerden "Seniñ karındaşıñ yokdur" diyecek yerde "Karındaşıñıñ karındaşı yokdur" denilir ki yine ma'nā karındaşıñ yokdur demek olub, biri zā'id olur. Ve "Ḥakk — subhāne-hü ve-te'ālā — nıñ misli yokdur" diyecek yerde "Ḥakk — subhāne-hü ve-te'ālā — nıñ misliniñ misli yokdur" denildiği gibi.

### 4 Mecāz bi-'n-Noḡsān

Aşl-i terkibden ba'zı lafzlarıñ hazfı-yle tekellüm olunan terkiblerden "Cāmi'iñ kapısı açıldı" diyecek iken mużāfı hazf iderek "Cāmi' açıldı" demek, ve "Şırbistān ehālisi 'āşī oldı"

diyecek iken "Şırbistān 'āşī oldu" demek gibi bu mişillüleriñ mecāz-ı mürsel oldukları dañı beyān olunmuş idi. "Şopa geliyor uşlı otur ve deynek geliyor derse çalış" diyüb bunlar elinde olan adam geliyor dimegi murād itmek dañı böyledir. (p. 78-79)

This passage is based on the Muṭavvel, from which he selects only those illustrative points which help to develop the argument, successfully resisting the temptation to overstate it and, thereby, obfuscate its main point. He seems to have extracted the essentials of this rambling exegesis, subjected them to logical analysis and produced something clear, where previously there had existed only the cryptic summary of the Telhīs and its verbose and impenetrable commentaries. For the first time the Turkish student had a text-book which explained Arabic rhetorical theory in a manner that was not only easy to assimilate, but was to some extent relevant to his own experience. Although the text is full of illustrations which employ the archetypal Zeyd, most, in fact, refer to objects or ideas within the experience of the Ottoman student. References to Serbia, Aya Sofya and modern armaments are most persuasive means of helping students to realise that the theory is applicable.

These four works, the Terceme-i Telhîs, the Nef'-i Mu'avvel: Terceme-i Telhîs-ü-Mutavvel, the Belâgat-i Lisân-ı 'Osmânî and the Zübdetü 'l-Beyân, each, in their turn, played a significant role in the development of an Ottoman rhetoric. The first two, both translations, are attempts on the part of the Ottomans to escape from the servile dependence on the authorities, whose works had become the core of the educational system of the Empire. Even those of them who are most abject in their respect for the sources, in some way betray a realisation that the system was not entirely adequate for the purposes of an Ottoman Turkish rhetoric. The very fact of translation must be taken as indicative of this, and as these translations gradually seek the expansion and clarification of the material that tradition compelled them to rely on, it is not too much to assert that they were in this way protesting at the constricting conditions of the educational system. The works herein treated are merely the best-known of many similar efforts of this kind attested in the biographies of the 'ulemā, and should not be regarded as isolated instances. While it might be too much to claim that there was a conscious effort to liberate this aspect of education from the consecrated precedents, they nevertheless, each in its own way, and in its own time, represent a tacit expression of the sense of inadequacy



felt by Ottoman scholars in the materials they were obliged to study and teach.<sup>1</sup>

The translation and subsequent publication of the Muṭavvel marks the end of a period in which the Ottoman 'ulemā tried to come to terms with Arabic rhetorical theory. By offering a Turkish version of the entire Muṭavvel, 'Abdünnāfi' had virtually translated most of the curriculum's required reading for rhetoric, the remaining works being merely commentaries, glosses and versifications based on the Telhīs. Although it was far from his intention, by translating this pivotal work on classical rhetoric, he demonstrated most effectively the total inadequacy of the traditional approach. The study of Arabic rhetoric was abandoned with seemingly little regret, and henceforth the Telhīs was to be exploited as a framework for the creation of an Ottoman rhetoric. The transition from the Telhīs to the Belāğat-i 'Osmāniye of

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1 In A. Uğur's study of the Ottoman 'ulemā, The Ottoman 'Ulemā in the mid-17th Century: an Analysis of the Vakā'i 'Ü 'l-Fuṣṣalā of Mehmed Şeyhī Ef. (Ph.D. Thesis: Edinburgh University, 1973) we have several references to 'ālims preparing commentaries and glosses on rhetoric (see I, 50, 279; II, 410, 692) and in particular a translation of the Telhīs, by 'Arūzī Mehmed Ef. (d. 1084/1673), II, 614.

Cevdet Paşa as the basic work of rhetorical theory in the Empire was not sudden; it proceeded through four stages: (1) the translation of the Telhîs, (2) the translation of the Mutavvel, (3) the translation of its theory from Arabic into Turkish, with examples cited only from the latter language, and (4) the adaptation of its material to the needs of Ottoman, omitting the tedious, and expanding the relevant. The arrival of the Belâgat-i 'Osmâniye and even of the Ta'lîm-i Edebîyât of Ekrem should not be regarded as revolutionary as might first appear, for, indeed, this achievement was being prepared for over three centuries by the implicit sense of protest against an alien importation to be detected in the commentaries, translations, annotations, and explanations of many of the 'ulemâ.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE BELĀĠAT-İ 'OSMĀNĪYE

Cevdet Paşa (1822-1895), the author of the Belāġat-ı 'Osmānīye, was one of that small group commonly known as the Men of the Tanzimat. While Muṣṭafā Reşīd Paşa (1800-1858), 'Alī Paşa (1815-1871) and Fu'ād Paşa (1815-1869) all rose to the highest positions in the government, Cevdet Paşa's role was less that of a statesman and more a civil servant responsible for the actual task of drawing up legislation, and consequently he failed to attain the supreme offices of state.<sup>1</sup>

The three great statesmen of the Tanzimat all had similar careers; having acquired experience in foreign affairs, they all occupied at sometime the post of Minister of External Affairs, the Grand Vizierate and, with the exception of Reşīd Paşa, the presidency of the Council of Tanzimat. Cevdet Paşa, on the other hand, occupied many important ministerial positions concerned with the direction and implementation of the Tanzimat reforms, but for a variety of reasons, at no time did he acquire a premier position in formulating the overall policy of the

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1 The sources for the biography of Cevdet Paşa can be found in A. Ölmezoğlu's article on him in I.A.

State. He was considerably more educated than his colleagues, and being somewhat younger than them it was natural that his best chances of advancement lay in attaching himself to their retinue. Receiving his first official appointment at the age of 26, he was within two years promoted to the Meclis-i Ma'ārif and shortly afterwards to the directorship of the Dārū 'l-Mu'allimīn. Thereafter followed numerous directorships and ministerial posts, mainly in the field of education and law, areas in which Cevdet Paşa's education in the 'İlmīye gave him an advantage over his colleagues. This classical background and his deep grounding in the traditional curriculum probably rendered him psychologically unsuited for the highest positions in the Tanzimat governments, where an uncritical belief in reform for its own sake was necessary rather than the conversancy with the traditional Islamic sciences which Cevdet Paşa could offer.

His ministerial duties and official commitments were allowed to occupy only part of his time, and much of his energy was devoted to drafting legislation, as well as to providing text-books for the educational institutions for which he was responsible. While his colleagues were enthusiastically engaged in propagating wide-sweeping reforms, it was to Cevdet Paşa that they delegated the task of actually implementing them.

In all things a moderate, he saw only too clearly that the reforming zeal of his colleagues arose from a shallow appreciation of the foundations of Ottoman culture, and he feared that their admiration for things European might lead them to question many of the established values, the preservation of which was for him the principal inducement to the reform of the state institutions. The classical conception of the Ottoman State was that of an organic unit centered around the person of the ruler, whose duty it was to protect, maintain and foster Islam and all thereto pertaining. As the basis of Islam was the Arabic Koran so, too, should Ottoman culture reflect the dominant position of those traditional sciences which found their origins in the study of the Holy Book. European pressure for the establishment of a secular constitutional state, thereby reducing the dominant position of the Şerī'at, would not only endanger the executive power of the Caliph but bring into question many of the cultural values which were held sacrosanct by Cevdet Paşa and most of his countrymen. He was not, however, a reactionary, for he realised that without institutional reform the State could not survive; and he consequently channelled his immense energies into reconciling the classical institutions with prevailing conditions. Yet, as earnest as was his zeal for reform, no less was he wholeheartedly committed to the preservation of Ottoman culture as he conceived it.

To Cevdet Paşa was delegated the task of codifying the whole of Ottoman law, a monumental project which resulted in the publication of a twelve volumed codex entitled the Mecelle-i Ahkām-ı 'Adliye, a work which was instrumental in preserving the fundamental position of the Şerī'at in the legal system.<sup>1</sup> Cevdet Paşa's motives for introducing the Mecelle are clear, he feared lest the theory and practice of Ottoman law be replaced by a Western model which was seen to operate well for its own society. He appreciated that unless he could provide the Empire with a comprehensive and modern legal system, forces, both within and without the country, would impose a legal framework which would be alien to the Ottoman spirit.

In matters of education too, he exhibited a marked reluctance to throw out the content of the classical curriculum. In the early years of his public life he began to prepare text-books for the new schools which had been established by the reforms. There being no question of replacing the old medrese system of higher education, the reformers contented themselves with establishing a parallel system of schooling in which new subjects would be taught. Common to both systems, however, was a need for instruction in grammar and composition, the ignorance of which was so painfully apparent in many of the employees

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1 See R. Gür, Mecelle, 2nd Ed (Istanbul, 1977), 25-28; Tezâkir, I, 62-63; IV, 95-96.

of the government. In the medrese it was Arabic alone that figured in the syllabus, and consequently the new schools had to provide a similar education in the Turkish language, including the formal study of literature. Cevdet Paşa assumed the responsibility for writing all the necessary text-books for the study of the vernacular.

In a preface to the Belāğat-i 'Osmāniye, Cevdet Paşa outlined his programme for the study of the Ottoman language. Acknowledging that it was greatly indebted to Arabic which he saw as the principle source of Ottoman, he felt it necessary to discuss the Arabic linguistic sciences as applied to the Ottoman language (pp. 3-5).<sup>1</sup> The 'Ulūm-i Edebīye, as formulated by Cevdet Paşa, are eight, with four "branch" sciences:

'Usūl-i semāniye: luğat, şarf, ıstikāk, naḥv, me'ānī, beyān, 'arūż ve kāfiye fennleridür.

Fürū'-ı erba'a: inşā, karz-ı şı'r, muḥāzarāt ve ḥaṭṭ, ya'nī imlā, fennleri (p. 6)

The basic sciences can, therefore, be notionally translated as: lexicography, morphology, etymology, syntax, semantics, exposition, prosody and rhyme. The four branch sciences are prose composition, poetic composition, the

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1 References to the text are to the first edition (Istanbul, 1298/1881).

art of the anecdote and calligraphy.<sup>1</sup> Within this framework he produced a series of works which would serve as text-books for some of these literary sciences. The

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- 1 In the Beyānū 'l-'Unvān (Istanbul, 1273/1857), Cevdet Paşa gives a summary of the linguistic sciences (pp. 34-35) in which he defines the four "branch sciences" thus:

"Fürū' olarak daḡı dīḡer dört fenn vardır:  
fenn-i ḡaṡṡ ve fenn-i ḡarṡ-ı ṡi'r ve fenn-i  
inṡā ve fenn-i muḡāṡarātdır. Zīrā baḡṡ, eger  
nuḡūṡ-ı kitābete dā'ir olursa, fenn-i ḡaṡṡ; ve  
eger kelām-ı manzūma maḡṡūṡ olursa, fenn-i  
ḡarṡ-ı ṡi'r; ve eger kelām-ı menṡūra maḡṡūṡ  
olursa, fenn-i inṡā; ve eger manzūm ve  
menṡūrdan birine maḡṡūṡ olmıyarak ikisine  
daḡı ṡāmīl olursa fenn-i muḡāṡarāt tesmiye  
olunur." (pp. 36-37)

Cevdet Paşa's use of the term muḡāṡarāt in this classification is rather idiosyncratic, and one cannot be quite sure what exactly it is that he means. The definition provided by Aḡmed ṡaṡḡöprizāde in the Miftāḡū 's-Sa'āde (vol. I [Hyderabad, 1899], p. 182) would hardly make it appropriate to what seems to be the general intention of Cevdet Paşa in this analysis. The definition runs: "This is the subject from the  
study/



first was the Kavā'id-i 'Osmāniye, a work produced in cooperation with Fu'ād Paşa, while residing in Bursa in 1849.<sup>1</sup> This was the first Ottoman grammar to be written in Turkish and was intended to serve the needs of the pupils at the newly established rüşdiye schools. Cevdet Paşa combined within this work the 'ilm-i nahv and the 'ilm-i şarf, having decided that the former science was too insubstantial to stand on its own when applied to the Ottoman language. In 1865 a shortened version of the work, entitled the Medhal-i Kavā'id, was published in order that the students at the primary schools might

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study of which is derived the ability to quote the works of others in respect of the appropriateness of their general sense and their particular relevance." He goes on to distinguish muhāẓarāt and me'ānī specifying the first as having particular relevance to the topic under discussion while muhāẓarāt is "the use of the words of eloquent men in the course of conversation, introduced as anecdote appropriate to the situation".

1 This was first published in 1281/1864. It was reprinted seventeen times, three times under the title: Kavā'id-i 'Osmānī. See Tezâkir, IV, 45; Belâgat-i 'Osmāniye, 3.

study it in preparation for the Kavā'id-i 'Osmāniye. The work was further simplified and published in an edition of 15,000 copies as the Kavā'id-i Türkiye (1875).<sup>1</sup>

At the end of the Kavā'id-i 'Osmāniye, Cevdet Paşa committed himself to compiling a work on Ottoman rhetoric, for he felt that although his grammar provided the student with the means of giving correct expression to his intended meaning in the Ottoman language, he would nevertheless be unable to express it eloquently without a knowledge of rhetoric. During one of his terms as Minister of Education, he had formed a committee to organise the curricula of the public and specialist schools, and he was himself later commissioned by this committee to write a work on rhetoric. However, the pressure of the work entailed in fulfilling his numerous commitments prevented him from turning his attention to this immediately. In 1879 he was reappointed Minister of Justice and opened the

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1 This was first published in 1292/1875, and thereafter reprinted six times. See Tezâkir, IV, 126. Ziyâ Gökalp in Türkçülüğün Esâsı argues that Cevdet Paşa failed to recognise the status of Turkish by calling his grammar the Kavā'id-i 'Osmāniye in contrast to Süleymân Paşa who preferred Şarf-ı Türkî, overlooking the fact that Cevdet compiled the Kavā'id-i Türkiye. Principles of Turcism, trans R. Devereux (Leiden, 1968), 4.

first modern school of law, the curriculum of which was to include the teaching of belāğa. In 1881 the second year students of the Mekteb-i Hukūk began their studies and Cevdet Paşa took it upon himself personally to teach the students belāğa once a week. His lecture notes became the basis for the Belāğat-i 'Osmāniye which was finished during a vacation in Şa'bān of 1299 (June 1882). Shortly afterwards the work was published and subsequently ran into six editions between the years 1881 and 1908.<sup>1</sup>

The syllabus of the Mekteb-i Hukūk included both traditional subjects as well as new courses which were to be taught for the first time. In the curriculum were the following subjects: Fikh, Mecelle-i Ahkām-i 'Adliye, Uşul-i Fikh, General Survey of Law Systems, Law and Institutions of the Ottoman Empire, Roman Law, Commercial Law, Court Procedure, Criminal Law and Interrogation Procedure, Maritime Law, International Law, Treaties, and finally Political Economy. Rhetoric was taught in addition to these basic courses, probably on the recommendation of Cevdet Paşa, who personally taught the class despite the pressure of work entailed in the post of Minister of Justice which he filled at this period. The relevancy of rhetoric to the study of law was accepted by traditional

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1 See Belāğat-i 'Osmāniye, 4-5; Tezâkir IV, 196 ff. and 214-215; also O. Ergin, Türkiye Maarif Tarihi (Istanbul, 1941), 890 ff. The title page of the 1st edition gives the year 1298, which could possibly refer to the financial year.

scholars who, realising that law was transmitted through the medium of language, taught the linguistic sciences in the medreses. Cevdet Paşa certainly realised that the students of the Mekteb-i Hukûk would become the first generation of Ottoman jurists and as such would be required either to draft or to interpret new laws; the study of Turkish composition would therefore complement their legal studies.<sup>1</sup>

The Belâgat-i 'Osmâniye is, as its title implies, the classical Arabic theory of rhetoric rendered applicable to Ottoman, little more in fact than the Telhîs in Turkish.<sup>2</sup>

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1 The relationship between the linguistic sciences and the study of law is succinctly formulated by İbn Haldûn in his Mukaddime, a work with which Cevdet Paşa was very familiar, having translated it into Ottoman: "The pillars of the Arabic language are four, lexicography, grammar, syntax and style (bayân), and literature. Knowledge of them all is necessary for religious scholars, since the source of all religious laws is the Qu'rân and the Sunnah, which are in Arabic" (Trans: F. Rosenthal: Ibn Khaldûn, An Introduction to History: the Muqaddimah, Abridged ed. [London, 1967], p. 433.

2 Cavid Baysun, in the index to vol. IV of Tezâkir, suggests that Cevdet Paşa adopted the Muhtasar as his model. While it can be established that he relied on one of the commentaries it is virtually impossible

Its arrangement, consisting of a mukaddime and three chapters devoted to me'ānī, beyān and bedī', mirrors that of its Arabic model, with little effort at the adaptation of the theory to a different language, a different educational system and the demands of a different society. To the introduction, Cevdet Paşa appends a brief discussion of language, taken from the science of logic, the chapters on me'ānī and beyān, however, remaining more or less the same. The bedī' section presents a selection of the numerous figures found in the Telhīs, to which is added a faṣl on chronograms.

It must, however, be recognised as utterly failing in its avowed purpose of providing a rhetorical system for Turkish, and its inadequacy can be attributed to the confused conceptions held by its author concerning the nature and scope of the subject itself. Cevdet Paşa seems to have regarded rhetoric as an absolute science of universal application, much as mathematics or physics, the laws of which governed all languages; consequently, he could confidently assume that those Arabic texts with which he was familiar could serve the demands of Turkish by merely modifying a few details. Whereas the proper approach would have been to deduce law and principle from his own

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determine which of Teftāzānī's two serḥs, the Mutavvel or the Muhtaṣar, he used (p. 286, entry "Belâgat-i Osmâniyye").

literature, he was content to seek in it only those examples which illustrated the foreign system.

While it is true that most literary modes in Ottoman Turkish were borrowed, usually from either Persian or Arabic, and underwent a development which can be identified as stages of translation, adaptation, imitation and, finally, imitation with some original features, they then developed into established forms within the body of Turkish literature. In this sense the Belāğat-i 'Osmānīye can be regarded as a work that goes beyond mere servile translation but yet cannot be acknowledged as having adapted itself to its Turkish context. The greater part of the work is no more than translation and rearrangement of familiar materials with lip service to the fact that it was intended as a rhetoric of the Turkish language. Although the very title of the work declares the intention of the author to write a rhetoric of the Turkish language, the fact that throughout the text very few definitions apply particularly to Turkish, would suggest that the author did not feel that the Turkish language required a distinct rhetoric of its own but could manage well with the rhetorical system of the Arabs provided that it was translated into Turkish and with illustrations in that language.

Cevdet Paşa is undoubtedly justified in regarding the rhetorical features of beyān as of equal validity to either

Turkish or Arabic, simile, metaphor and metonymy being common to all languages. He is not justified, however, in expecting a translation, albeit adapted, of the Arabic text of the Telhīs to convey much more meaning than the original Arabic. Indeed, one can only suppose that the Arabic definitions were somewhat obscure both in their original form and in their subsequent translation, and that their authors relied on the illustrations to convey the actual force of the argument.

Cevdet Paşa adopted in extenso the classical Islamic expository style employed in the Telhīs: definition, explanation, illustration and elucidation of the illustration. The first step, definition, is intended to be succinct, often to the point of unintelligibility, necessitating the second step, explanation. The illustration was by far the most important step, for it is the means by which the reader can recognise the feature under discussion in a concrete form. The illustration was often of two types: the first, a statement coined by the author which contains the feature under discussion in its simplest form: as in "Zeyd is like a lion" to illustrate the simile; the second, which in the Telhīs is invariably culled from poetry, gives validity to the rhetorical feature by attesting to its existence in poetry — and hence in literature. The first type of illustration should not be thought of as in any way being an example of the feature in prose, but rather as a non-poetical statement in which

the feature is illustrated in isolation, reduced to its barest essential. The final optional step is the elucidation of the illustration which is provided, not always because the beyt or misrā' in question contains some inherent difficulty, but often because the author is at a loss to find a categorical illustration which will exemplify the feature in question and that only. The elucidation can therefore be thought of as an attempt to reconcile the illustration to the definition. In fact, in this form of presentation the classical system reverses the order in which the science of rhetoric developed, for it is generally obvious that the definition proceeds from the example rather than the reverse. Those striking features of expression in a literary work which would detain the reader are inspirational in origin, and it was the attempt of the scholastic mentality to reduce these to formal definition that gave birth to rhetoric and consequently to the ambiguities and inadequacies of most of its foundations and definitions. One could react to the effective literary passage in a variety of ways which, taken together would constitute what we today call criticism; it was because the Islamic rhetorician regarded his subject as an appendix to grammar that he felt required to reduce these features to a system.

Cevdet Paşa's major contribution to the understanding of beyān lies in the illustrations taken from the corpus of Ottoman poetry, which he provides generously, for as



has already been suggested it was the illustrations that made the definition intelligible. The Turkish illustrations also serve to attest to the existence of the rhetorical feature and hence to give it validity. It is to Cevdet Paşa's credit that he departed from the narrow concept of rhetoric as a function of poetry to the extent of providing a true illustration of a form of teşbîh as attested in a passage of prose. He often omits illustrative beyts, providing only the essential exemplary statement to serve as the example. This economy of style would be entirely laudatory were it not for the suspicion that Cevdet Paşa was at a loss for a beyt to illustrate exactly the point in question, a suspicion reinforced by the fact that the section on simile — a relatively easy rhetorical feature to understand — is abundantly illustrated whereas the section on the mecâz-ı mürsel has but one beyt.

That the definitions in the Belâgat-ı 'Osmâniye depart little from the Arabic originals would suggest that Cevdet Paşa expended no great effort in attempting to turn the language of the Telhîs, which in itself is often difficult, into intelligible Turkish. His attitude would seem to have been that a work with which he himself was so familiar merely required transposition into a Turkish syntactical framework, with the minimum change in vocabulary to meet the needs of the students for whom the book was intended. The difficulty of the original is not so much a matter of Arabic syntax, but lies in the economical

use of language which renders complex concepts even more obscure by stripping all statements down to their barest essentials. Because Turkish syntactical structure differs essentially from that of Arabic in its development of the idea, these definitions in the Belāğat-ı 'Osmāniye become often even more obscure than their counterparts in the Telhīs.

The inadequacy of Cevdet's definitions and his servile reliance on his Arabic model can be observed in the following passage, where he attempts to explain the nature of the mecāz-ı 'aklī. He begins as usual with the definition:

Mecāz-ı 'aklī, bir fi'li mā hūve lehine,  
ya'nī, 'inde 'l-mütekellem ḥakḳı olan  
mülābesine isnād itmeyüb de mā hūve lehiñ  
gayri olan mülābesine isnād itmekdir. (p. 125)

based on the following passage from the Telhīs:

. . . ve-hūve<sup>e</sup> isnādū-hū<sup>ü</sup> [fi'li] ilā  
mülābes<sup>in</sup> le-hū<sup>ü</sup> gayri mā hūve<sup>e</sup> le-hū<sup>ü</sup>  
bi-'te'evvūl<sup>in</sup>. (p. 45)

Cevdet Paşa fails to tell his reader that this "Turkish" definition is borrowed not from the beyān section of the Telhīs, but from the section on me'ānī. As this discussion

belongs properly to the latter rather than the former, the reader can be forgiven for wondering what the terms isnād and fi'l, which are particular to me'ānī, are doing in a discussion which has been transposed to the section on beyān. Furthermore he uses the word mülābes with neither an indication of its vowelling, nor an explanation of its meaning which would normally be ascertained from its context, which in this case, of course, does not exist.

The determined student would understand the definition to mean: "Intellectual Trope occurs when the verb is not attributed to what is intrinsic to it, that is to say, when it is not attributed to something intimately connected with it, in the opinion of the speaker, but rather to something which is not intimately connected with it." It is quite clear that this definition needs expansion, so Cevdet Paşa proceeds to explain it:

Fi'le, fā'ili mülābes oldığı gibi, zamān  
ve mekân ve sebebi daḥi mülābes olur. Ve  
bunların fi'le mülābesede fā'il ile iştirākleri  
mecāz-ı 'aqlīnīn 'alākasıdır; fakat bunda daḥi  
karīne-i mānī'e bulunmak şartdır. (p. 126)

Again he follows closely the original Arabic:

Ve-le-h<sup>ü</sup> mülābesāt<sup>u</sup> şittā, yūlābis<sup>ü</sup>  
'l-fā'il<sup>e</sup> ve mef'ül<sup>e</sup> bi-h<sup>i</sup>, ve-'l-masdar<sup>e</sup>  
ve-'z-zamān<sup>e</sup> ve-'l-mekān<sup>e</sup> ve-'s-sebeb<sup>e</sup>. (p. 46)

He adds a condition to the original, thus relating the discussion for the first time to beyān. The above passage can be understood as meaning: "Just as the subject of the verb is intimately connected to it, so too are its time, place and cause. Their sharing together with the subject, a common intimate connection with the verb, is the adjunct of the intellectual trope, with the proviso that there also exists therein restrictive adjunct." This statement does little to clarify the definition, indeed it adds to the existing confusion by introducing additional factors which themselves need explanation.

The third step, the illustration, makes the above statements much clearer, by offering for the first time a statement which may be understood in its absolute form, without requiring the reader to refer to context in order for it to convey a meaning. The concrete image presented in the following illustration is the pivotal point of the whole discussion:

Megelā, bir mütedeyyin kimse "mevsim-i bahār  
otları inbāt eyledi" didükde, mecāz-ı 'aklī  
olur, zīrā anuñ 'indinde otları inbāt iden  
Bārī Te'ālā Hāzretleridir, faķať vaktı bahār

olmağla şanki otları ol mevsim inbāt idiyor  
gibi tahayyül iderek "inbāt" fi'lini zamānına  
isnād eyler. Emmā bu sözi bir Denrī söylemiş  
olsa mecāz olmayub hakikat olur. (p. 121)

Even in the example he follows closely the Arabic:

Sümm<sup>e</sup> 'l-isnād<sup>ü</sup> min-h<sup>ü</sup> hakikat<sup>ün</sup> 'akliyet<sup>ün</sup>  
. . . ke-kavli 'l-mü'min<sup>i</sup>: "enbeta 'llāh<sup>ü</sup>  
'l-bakl<sup>e</sup>" ve-kavl<sup>i</sup> 'l-cāhil<sup>i</sup>: "Enbete 'r-rebī'u  
'l-bakl<sup>e</sup>" ve-min-h<sup>ü</sup> mecāz<sup>ün</sup> 'akliy<sup>ün</sup>. . .  
ve-kavlu-nā bi-'t-te'evvül<sup>i</sup> yuhric<sup>ü</sup> mā merre  
min kavli 'l-cāhil<sup>i</sup>. (pp. 44-45)

Cevdet Paşa's simple illustration entirely elucidates the preceding definition and explanation. In fact, his argument, as presented at this stage, could well stand on its own, little expansion being necessary to make this statement completely explanatory and the previous statements redundant.

Cevdet, having defined mecāz-ı 'aklī, at least to his own satisfaction, now proceeds to exhaust all the possibilities which this trope encompasses:

Mecāz-ı 'aklīn<sup>ün</sup> yā iki tarafı, hakikat, veyā  
ikisi de mecāz-ı luğavī; yā-hod biri hakikat,  
diğeri mecāz-ı luğavī olur. [1] Nitekim

mişāl-i mezkūrda iki tarafı daḥi ḥaḳīkatdır.

[2] Ve "nev-civānlığı yeri iḥyā eyledi"

didigimizde iki tarafı daḥi mecāz olur, çünkü

nev-civānlık insānıñ ḥarāret-i ḡarīziyesi

ziyāde ve kavī olmakdan 'ibāret olduğu ḥālde,

burada mecāzen: "kuvve-i nāmīyenüñ izdiyādı"

ma'nāsında müsta'meldir. Ḥaḳīkatē: "iḥyā"

daḥi "ḥayāt vermek" ma'nāsına olub, hiss

-ü-ḥareket-i irādīyeyi muḳtaḏā, ve beden-ü

-rūḥa muḥtāc olur, lākin burada mecāzen

"kuvve-i nāmīyeyi bi-'t-tehyīc envā'-ı

nebātāt ile yere ḥüsn-ü-revnaḳ vermek"

ma'nāsında müsta'meldir. [3] Ve "mevsim-i

bahār yere iḥyā itdi" didigimizde müsnedün

ileyh tarafı, ḥaḳīkat, müsned tarafı mecāz olur.

[4] Ve "zamānıñ nev-civānlığı otları inbāt

eyledi" didigimizde müsnedün ileyh mecāz, müsned

ḥaḳīkat olur. (pp. 126-127)

The above passage is based on:

Ve-aksāmü-h<sup>ü</sup> erba'a<sup>tün</sup>: Li-enne tarafey-h<sup>i</sup>

[1] immā ḥaḳīkatān<sup>i</sup> naḥū: "enbet<sup>e</sup> 'r-rebī'ü

'l-bakl<sup>e</sup> ev mecāzān<sup>i</sup> naḥū" aḥye 'l-arḏ şibābü

'z-zamān<sup>i</sup>; ev muḥtelifān<sup>i</sup> naḥū [3] "enbete

'l-bakl<sup>e</sup> şibābü 'z-zamān, ve [4] aḥye 'l-arḏa

'r-rebī'ü. (pp. 48-49)

The bare statement of the Telhīs is considered to be insufficient and Cevdet Paşa here has recourse to the Mutavvel to elucidate the figurative nature of "şibābū 'z-zamān" and "aḥye 'l-arḡ":

Fe-inne 'l-murād<sup>e</sup> bi-ihyā'i 'l-arḡ<sup>i</sup>,  
tehyīcū 'l-kuve 'n-nāmiye<sup>ti</sup> fī-hā ve-iḥdāsū  
naẓāreti-hā bi-envā'i 'n-nebāt<sup>i</sup>; ve ihyā'<sup>u</sup>  
fī 'l-hakīka<sup>ti</sup> ı'tā'u 'l-hayāt<sup>i</sup> ve hiy<sup>e</sup>  
sıfat<sup>ün</sup> taktaẓi 'l-hiss<sup>e</sup> ve-'l-harekete  
'l-irādīye<sup>te</sup> ve teftekir<sup>ü</sup> ile 'l-beden<sup>i</sup>  
ve-'r-rūh<sup>i</sup> ve ke-ze 'l-murād<sup>u</sup> bi-şibābi  
'z-zamān<sup>i</sup>, izdiyād<sup>ü</sup> kuvā-he 'n-nāmiye<sup>ti</sup> ve  
hūv<sup>e</sup> fī 'l-hakīka<sup>ti</sup> 'ibāret<sup>ün</sup> 'an kevnī  
'l-hayvān<sup>i</sup> fī zamān<sup>in</sup>, tekūn<sup>ü</sup> harāreti-hū  
'l-ğarīziye<sup>tü</sup> meşbūbet<sup>en</sup>, ey kavīye<sup>ten</sup>  
muştā'ale<sup>ten</sup>.

The Arabic of the Telhīs is both precise and clear; it notices that there are four possible permutations of the simple statement consisting of a subject and predicate, here classified as mecāz-ı 'aklī. The context of the Telhīs — the chapter is entitled "Aḥvālu 'l-isnādi 'l-haberī<sup>yī</sup>" and definitions are provided for all the terms — indicates that the ṭarafān are the mūsned (predicate) and the mūsned ileyh (subject), but Cevdet Paşa, on the other hand, does not identify these ṭarafān until the end of the paragraph. As he has transposed this discussion

from the me'ānī section of the Telhīs to the beyān section, any reference to tarafān will suggest in the mind of the reader the muṣebbeh and the muṣebbehūn bih, or their corresponding elements in isti'āre or kināye. The gratuitous expansion of the second permutation of the trope, where Cevdet Paşa has recourse to the Mutavvel, no matter how useful it may be in itself, is nevertheless inconsistent with his terse economic style, and therefore confusing.

Having completed the classification of the mecāz-ı 'aklī according to whether its two elements are figurative or real, Cevdet Paşa introduced three examples to illustrate three further points, the exact nature of which will probably elude the reader:

[1] Ke-zālik, "Ser-dār-i ekrem düşmeni münhezim etdi" didigimizde ṭarafeyni ḥaḳīḳat oldıḡı ḥālde, mecāz-ı 'aklī olur , çünki ḥaḳīḳat-i ḥālde düşmeni münhezim iden, ser-dārıñ 'askeridir, kendüsi āmir-ü-mudebbirdir. Faḳaṭ bu fi'lde daḡl-i 'azīmi oldıḡından ol fi'l, sebebine isnād ḳabīlinden olarak aña isnād olur.

[2] "Maḥabbetiñiz beni buraya ḳadar getürdi" ve "Mülāḳatiñiz baña meserret verdi" cümleleri daḡı bu kabīldendir.



- [3] "Fulān ādam 'ayn-i 'adāletdir" yā-ḥod "'Adālet-i mucedsemedir" ve yā-ḥod "'adālet odur" cümleleri daḥi ke-zālik mecāz-ı 'aklī kabīlindendir, çünkü 'adālet, ol ādamın işlediği işlere mahmūl-u -müsned olur, zātına ḥaml-ü-isnād olunamaz; fakat çok 'adālet eylediği cihetle, gūyā 'adālet tecessüm etmiş gibi, taḥayyül olunarak aña isnād olunur.

Eğerçi bu mişllü terkiblerde muḥāf mahzūfdır, ya'nī "ehl-i 'adālet" yā "ṣāḥib-i 'adālet" deyi te'vīl olunmak daḥi kabīl ise de, bu taḥdīrce maṭlub olan mubālağa fevt olub, 'ādī söz ḥükmine girer. (pp. 127-128)

The first example is based on an illustration from the Telḥīs: "Hezeme 'l-emīrū 'l-cünd<sup>e</sup>" (p. 50), which also illustrates mecāz-ı 'aklī. The point being made is that the "commander" is made the subject of the sentence rather than "his army" by attribution of the act of "destroying" to him rather than his army, which in logic is the true subject of the action. This is done because the concept of "commanding", on the basis of a causal relationship, is bound closely to the idea of "destroying".

The second example comes from the Telḥīs: "Maḥabbetü-k<sup>e</sup> cā'et bī iley-k<sup>e</sup>" (p. 50); "serret-nī rū'yetü-k<sup>e</sup>" (p. 51). In classifying them as of the same type as above

[. . .cümleleri dađı bu kabildendir], Cevdet Paşa does not specify either "mecāz-ı 'aklī" or ". . . sebebine isnād kabīli. . ." as the referent.

Cevdet expands the argument presented in the previous paragraph, providing an appendix to the section on Mecāz-ı 'aklī:

Ber vech-i bālā mużāf ḥazf olınub da, mużāfün ileyh anıñ makāmına ikāme olunduđu hālde "mecāz-ı ḥazfī" denilir. Yerine göre bu dađı bir tarīk-i meslūkdur, faķať müttekellimiñ ğarżına 'ā'id bir meslekdir.

Nitekim bir şeyi öğrenmek içün "ehl-i karyeden sor" denilecek yerde "karyeden sor" denilse, mecāz-ı ḥazfī olur. Emmā bir kimse ḥarāb, ve ehālīsi nā-yāb olan bir karyeniñ önünden geçen iken nuṣṣ-u-ikāz yolunda refīķine, yā-ḥod 'ibret-ü-ikāz yolunda kendü kendüye: "şu karyeye sor ki ehālisi ne oldu" dese mecāz-ı ḥazfīye ḥaml olunamaz.

Kezālik ber vech-i bālā "fulān ādam 'adāletdür" denilse mubālaĝa ḥuṣūli içün, mecāz-ı 'aklīye ḥaml olunmak munāsib olmaz. (p. 128)

This is based on the following passage from the Telhîs:

Ve-kađ yuṭlaḳu 'l-mecāz<sup>ü</sup> 'alā kelime<sup>t</sup>in  
tağayyere hūkm<sup>ü</sup> i'rābi-hā bi-hazf<sup>i</sup> lafz<sup>in</sup>  
. . . ke-kavli-h<sup>i</sup> Te'ālā: ve-cā'e rebbe-k<sup>e</sup>,  
ve-'s'eli 'l-ḳarye<sup>te</sup>. . . ey emr<sup>ü</sup> rebbi-k<sup>e</sup>,  
ve ehl<sup>ü</sup> 'l-ḳarye<sup>ti</sup>. . . (p. 336)<sup>1</sup>

The Belāğat-i 'Osmāniye remains in many ways a very unsatisfactory work. Retaining the format of a rhetorical system which had already proven itself inadequate to the needs of society, it was a defiant rebuttal of the arguments for change advanced by the modernists under the influence of Western literary standards. Although completely inadequate as a Turkish rhetoric, it did, however, have the positive merit of providing an exposition of classical Islamic rhetorical theory. Despite its numerous obscurities, it at least rendered the Arabic examples into Turkish, or even produced original Turkish examples, with the aid of which even the least proficient of Arabic scholars could have access to Islamic rhetoric through the medium of Turkish. It need hardly be pointed

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1 Compare Cevdet Paşa's treatment with the commentary on this passage in the Muṭavvel (p. 405) and the Muḥtasar (p. 185). The Turkish translation of the Muṭavvel's commentary on this passage is given in Appendix II to this work.

out, however, that such attainment was hardly what was required by students of modern law in the changing society of late Nineteenth Century Turkey.

The quality of the scholarship is uneven: on the one hand, it manifests flashes of genius such as Cevdet Paşa's rendition of lā ilāhe illa 'llāh into Turkish as "yokdur tapacak çalabdır ancak" (pp. 8-9), while on the other hand it is marred by basic errors when, for instance, he attributes examples to the wrong poets.<sup>1</sup> However, its chief fault lies in his failure to significantly improve and build upon the contributions of two of his predecessors, Ahmed Hamdī's Belāğat-i Lisān-ı 'Osmānī and Miḥalīcī Muṣṭafā Efendi's Zübdetü 'l-Beyān. The Belāğat-i 'Osmānīye mirrors to a large degree the treatment in the Belāğat-i Lisān-ı 'Osmānī, a work published at the behest of Cevdet Paşa. That, however, is not to accuse him of plagiarism, for both works follow the argument of the Telhīs so closely that most similarities may be attributed to their common source. Nevertheless certain coincidences cannot be ascribed to this, as for example, the fact that both works

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1 One instance of this is Ḥayālī's mısrā':

(H1) O mähīler ki deryā içredür deryāyı bilmezler  
wrongly attributed to Fuẓūlī (p. 41).

illustrate garābet with the Turkish word "çalab".<sup>1</sup> It is Cevdet Paşa, however, who is credited with the authorship

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1 The text of the Belāğat-i Lisān-ı 'Osmānī reads thus:

"Garābet isti'mālī gayrı me'nūs ve vahşī olan elfāzdır. Meselā eski Türkçede Allāh — te'ālā — hażretlerine çalab. . . denilir diye tekkellüm ve inşāda kullanılmak mahv-ı feşāhatdır." (p. 6)

The text of the Belāğat-i 'Osmānīye:

"Garābet. Kelimeniñ vahşī olması, ya'nī me'nūsü 'l-isti'māl ve zāhirü 'l-ma'nā olmamasıdır. . .  
 . . . . .  
Lā ilāhe illa 'llāh 'ibāre-i şerīfesiniñ aşı  
Türkçesi Yokdur tapacak çalabdır ancak 'ibāresidir.  
 Ve Türkçe çalab lafza-ı celāleniñ tercemesidir,  
 lākin şimdi lisānımızda müsta'mel degildir."  
 (pp. 8-9)

The similarity in the wording of the definition may be attributed to the common source, the Mutavvel:

Ve-'l-garābetü: Kevnu 'l-kelime<sup>t</sup>i vahşīyeten,  
gayr<sup>e</sup> zāhireti 'l-ma'nā ve-lā me'nūsete  
'l-isti'māl<sup>i</sup>. (p. 18)

of the first Ottoman work of rhetoric.<sup>1</sup> While there is no doubt that the Belāġat-i 'Osmāniye is an improvement over the Belāġat-i Lisān-i 'Osmānī, its superiority to the Zübdetü 'l-Beyān cannot be argued so strongly. In method and approach as traditional as the rhetorics of Cevdet Paşa and Ahmed Hamdī, this latter work does however restrict itself to beyān and consequently offers a treatment which is defensible. This second section of the tripartite formulation of Islamic rhetoric, containing an analysis of figures of speech of relevance to all languages, stands well on its own, and to treat it as merely the second of the three Islamic sciences of rhetoric can only be a retrograde step on the road to a Turkish rhetoric.

However the quality of the Belāġat-i 'Osmāniye is only a secondary consideration in the evaluation of its impact on the succeeding generation of students. Whatever the defects inherent in the works, it cannot be denied that this book became extremely popular, and the favourable reception that it received must in part be attributed to the eminence of its author. Cevdet Paşa's aim was to supply the uniform system of education, which it was hoped to bring into the Empire, with a text-book which would find the same universal acceptance as had the standard Arabic works of the medrese, which were now losing both relevance and usefulness. Just as the new centralist

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1 See footnote on page 13 of the Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt.

government of the Tanzimat required a uniform code of Ottoman law, so, too, was it desirable to have a uniform course in rhetoric. In the same way as Cevdet Paşa's Mecelle was to relegate the books of fikh and codes of kānūns to the libraries and archives, the Telhīs was made redundant by his Belāġat-i 'Osmāniye. Such an innovation, however, did not pass without comment.

The Belāġat-i 'Osmāniye became the subject of a heated debate among some prominent men of letters and some students at the Mekteb-i Hukūk. In 1299 (23 November, 1881/11 November, 1882), the year following its publication, no less than eight works were written in criticism or defence of this school text-book. The controversy confined itself to the preface (pp. 2-6) and the mukaddime (pp. 7-40) of the Belāġat-i 'Osmāniye, the former section consisting of a statement on the utility and origins of rhetoric, the latter being a discourse on the concepts of belāġat and feṣāḥat after the model of the Telhīs, for which Turkish illustrations are provided. An essay on logic and epistemology follows this discourse (pp. 28-40).

The debate was opened by 'Abdūrrahmān Süreyyā (d. 1322/1904), a correspondent for the Cerīde-i 'Askeriye. Born and educated in Baghdad, he moved to Istanbul where he completed his schooling and found employment as a journalist (1871), and later as a teacher at the Dārū 'l-Fünūn and the Dārū 'l-Mu'allimīn. He wrote several works in Arabic

and a few in Turkish, among which the most notable are two contributions to the study of the Turkish language: the Mizānū 'l-Belāga (1303/1885), which consists of a complete grammar of Turkish in the classical mould, and the Sefīne-i Belāgat (1305/1887), a commentary on the Mizān. As he is credited with a command of French and Kurdish, as well as the elsīne-i selāse, we may presume that his mother language was Kurdish, while the fact that he received his early education in Baghdad would suggest that his first literary language was Arabic rather than Ottoman.<sup>1</sup> In the course of the literary debate, he was often the victim of gibes at his weak command of Turkish, from which he attempted to defend himself, declaring that although he was not Turkish, his "nationalité" was Ottoman, in which fact he took great pride.<sup>2</sup> These attacks on his linguistic ability in Turkish are quite groundless, for it is clear that 'Abdurrahmān possessed a very fine prose style in Ottoman. Although this literary debate afforded him no opportunity to demonstrate this ability, he was able to devote some pages of his Mizānū 'l-Belāga to a general discourse on the development of rhetoric, which serves as a persuasive demonstration of his complete mastery of the language.<sup>3</sup>

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1 O.M. II, 339-40.

2 Tahlīl-i Hall, 41.

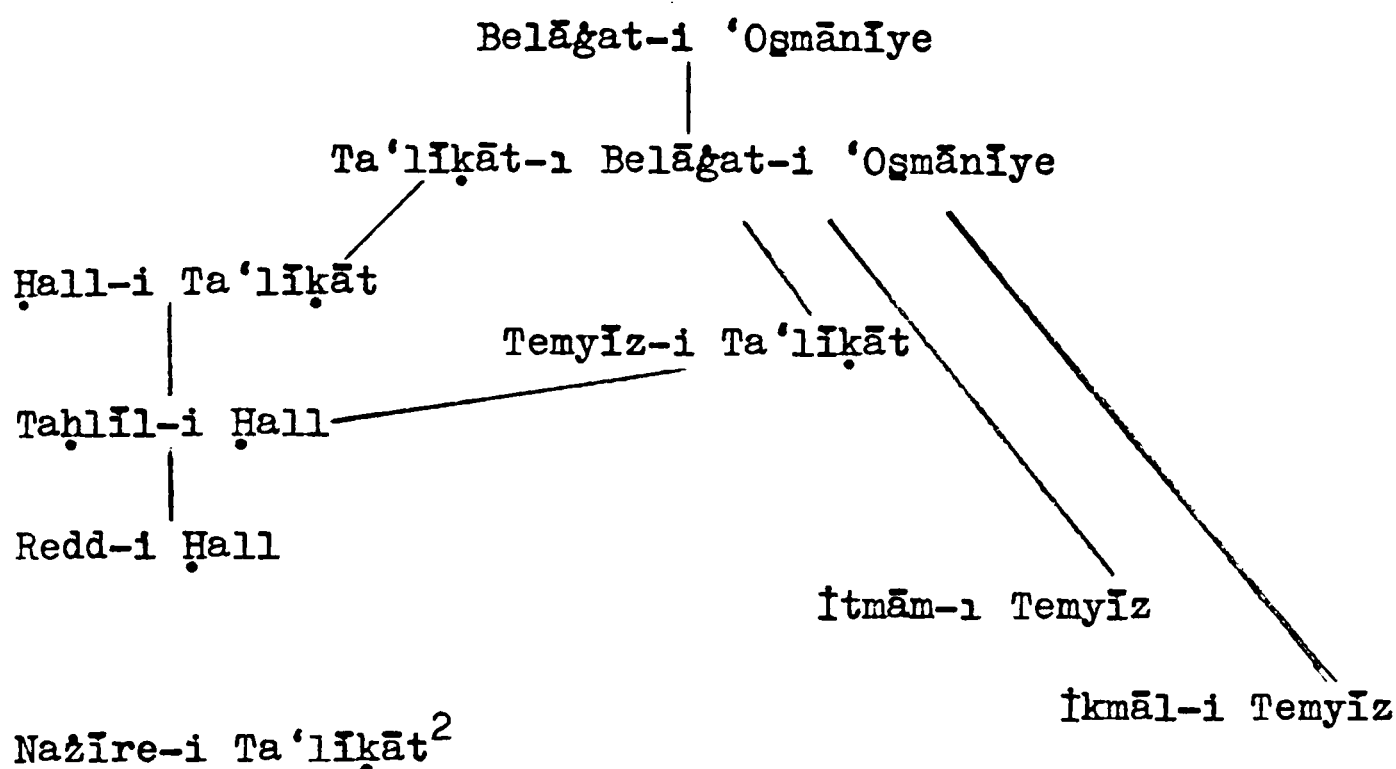
3 Mizānū 'l-Belāga, 2-3.



The debate was opened by 'Abdŭrrahmān's Ta'likāt-i Belāgat-i 'Osmāniye, in which he offers a critique of the Belāgat-i 'Osmāniye in the guise and format of a traditional commentary. The work found its defenders in El-Hācc İbrāhīm, a member of the board of directors of evkāf and author of the Temyiz-i Ta'likāt, and in an anonymous work entitled the Hall-i Ta'likāt, the authorship of which was attributed to a student at the Mekteb-i Hukūk. In fact, the student in question was 'Alī Sedād Bey, Cevdet Paşa's son, who discarded the veil of secrecy in his later contributions to this debate, and openly claimed the work as his own.

These two works were in turn criticised by the author of the Ta'likāt, in a work entitled the Tahlil-i Hall, to which 'Alī Sedād replied in the Redd-i Tahlil, written in collaboration with two classmates, Mehmed Fā'ik Ef. and Mahmūd Es'ad Ef. 'Alī Sedād also wrote the İkmāl-i Temyiz in order to supplement the Temyiz-i Ta'likāt, while Mahmūd Es'ad wrote a complementary work, the İtmām-ı Temyiz. The last of these eight contributions to this controversy was the Naẓire-i Ta'likāt, attributed to 'Abdŭrrahmān Süreyyā.

The development of this literary polemic may best be summed up in the following diagram:<sup>1</sup>



- 1 The chronological sequence, together with the day of publication when known, in which these works appeared is as given below:

Belāġat-i 'Osmāniye, Cevdet Paşa, 1881.

Ta'likāt-ı Belāġat-i 'Osmāniye, 'Abdürrahmān Süreyyā

(Pub. between Nov. 23, 1881, and Jan. 26, 1882).

Hall-i Ta'likāt, Anon. ['Alī Sedād], 27 January, 1882.

Temyiz-i Ta'likāt, El-Hācc İbrāhīm, 1882.

Tahlil-i Hall, 'Abdürrahmān Süreyyā, 1882.

Redd-i Tahlil, 'Alī Sedād, Maḥmūd Es'ad, Meḥmed Fā'ik,

12 March, 1882.

İtmām-ı Temyiz, Maḥmūd Es'ad, 30 March, 1882.

İkmāl-i Temyiz, 'Alī Sedād, 4 April, 1882.

Nazire-i Ta'likāt, Anon. ['Abdürrahmān Süreyyā], 1882.

- 2 The exact date of publication is not known, but it must have appeared between 12 March and 11 Nov., 1882.

This controversy is remarkable in a number of aspects, not least of which is the fact that all the works were published in 1299, the year following the publication of the Belāğat-i 'Osmānīye, and of these at least six appeared within the space of ten weeks. Although the debate was conducted in an atmosphere of bitter hostility and mutual vituperation, it was couched in the format familiar to all Islamic scholars, textual exegesis through the medium of commentary and super-commentary. Probably most remarkable of all is the fact that a work on rhetoric, such as the Belāğat-i 'Osmānīye, should arouse such intense passions and give rise to such protracted hostility.

In the preface to the Belāğat-i 'Osmānīye, Cevdet Paşa states his reasons for writing a rhetoric of Turkish: civilised societies (Ṭavā'if-i mütemeddine), he theorises, have consolidated the rules governing their own language into a particular science, the Arabs showing the greatest zeal in this respect. Arabic, the language of the Koran, became the object of intensive study, which was regarded as a religious duty by Arabic scholars, and was consequently preserved from decay (pp. 2-6). Cevdet Paşa does no more than summarise what was universally accepted among his peers, ideas which neither presented occasion for controversy nor required elucidation or comment. The introduction (mukaddime) likewise is conservative in its approach: following closely the model established by the Telhīs, he discusses two concepts fundamental to rhetoric, belāğa

and fasāha, enumerating the faults incidental to the latter. He provides examples in Turkish to illustrate each of these faults. To this is added a lāhika, in which he deals with speech (kelām) as a philosophical concept, and examines some of the rules of logic in reference to it.<sup>1</sup>

The Ta'likāt begins its critique of the Belāğat-i 'Osmāniye by analysing every element of Cevdet Paşa's first sentence:

"Ṭavā'if-i mütemeddine kendi lisānlarınıñ  
kavā'idini cem' ile bir fenn-i maḥṣūṣ olarak  
tedvin idegelmişdir." (Belāğat-i 'Osmāniye, p. 7)

"Ṭavā'if", we are informed, is the plural of "ṭā'ife", signifying a portion or part of a thing, in its original meaning, a people accustomed to travel, thence signifying a grouping. To this statement he appends a footnote in which he suggests that had the words "milel" or "akvām" been employed in place of "ṭavā'if" then the adjective "mütemeddine" would have been more appropriate. "Mütemeddine" belongs to the tefa'ul group of derived verb forms, its function being that of an active participle, the primary maṣdar being "mūdūn". Although this would mean "settle in a place and make it one's residence", it is no longer

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1 The mukaddime begins on p. 7, the lāhika on p. 28.

used in its basic form. The word "medīne" signifying a large town is derived from this tri-literal root, and although lexically it signifies what pertains to a town, "mūtemeddin", used figuratively, implies the qualities of one who inhabits a centre of polite usages (terbiye merkezi) and "medenīyet" has now acquired the connotation of correct upbringing. The iżāfet construction between "ṭavā'if" and "mūtemeddine" is adjectival, the adjective being singular, the qualified noun, plural; this apparent incongruity being reconcilable as the adjective is both singular and feminine.

"'Lisān'", we are further informed, "is a piece of flesh which serves as the instrument of speech in human beings; the Persian equivalent being 'zebān' and the Turkish 'dil'. Its plural forms are 'elsine', 'elsūn' and 'lūsūn', and 'lisān', signifying an instrument [of speech], is feminine, and used figuratively (mecāz-ı mūrsele), it means argument or speech; according to the lexicon, the phrase 'That man speaks with the tongue of truth' means 'He is speaking [using] the arguments and speech of truth'. Here 'lisān' is used in its lexical signification.

"'Ḳavā'id' is the plural of 'ḳā'ide' [rule], which signifies those statements which comprise the generality of its constituent parts; e.g. the statement 'Fā'il

merfū'dur' is a rule established by grammarians, in which the fā'il comprises all its parts and individual instances."

'Abdūrrahmān proceeds to parse "fenn" and "tedvīn", so that by the middle of page seven of the Ta'likāt, the reader knows a good deal of the morphology of the opening sentence of the Belāgat-i 'Osmāniye. On page eight he takes issue with Cevdet Paşa over the use of the phrase "'ulemā-yı 'Arabiye"; 'Abdūrrahmān prefers "'ulemā-yı 'Arab" and cites as his authorities Ebū 'Alī Fārisī (d. 987), 'Abdūlkāhir el-Cūrcānī (d. 1078) and Ebū 'Alī Şelevbīnī [or Şelūbīnī; d. 1247], three grammarians of which the latter is most notable for his meagre literary output, consisting of no more than two commentaries.<sup>1</sup> Cevdet's definition of the 'ilm-i şarf as "zāt-ı kelīmenīñ ahvālinden baḡs bir fenn" is condemned as imprecise, on the grounds that the science of etymology, too, may be thus defined. Failing to recognise that Cevdet's exposition is summary and not intended as a definitive description of the literary sciences, which had already been provided in the Beyānū 'l-'Unvān, the Ta'likāt attempts to correct the inadequacy of most of the definitions given in this section. The description of rhetoric as a "science" acts as a stimulus to 'Abdūrrahmān, who reacting predictably suggests that "'ilm" would be an improvement on "fenn", and then goes on to a gratuitous summary of the epistemological arguments

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1 For Şelevbīnī, see Brockleman G. I, 308; G. II, 379.

of three philosophical schools, the first represented by Er-Rāzī (d. 935), the second by El-Ġazālī (d. 1111) and El-Cüveynī (d. 1085) and the third being subdivided into seven separate views, each of which is attributed to one or other of the ancient scholars. He further dissects each of the definitions in Cevdet's argument, with scarcely a trace of evidence to suggest that he actually understood it, or was even aware of its existence. Ignoring page six of the Belāġat-i 'Osmānīye, in which Cevdet presents a classification of the literary sciences, 'Abdūrrahmān alights on the word "mūkaddime" and wrestles with its various meanings for two and a half pages. This discussion, in its total irrelevancy to the text, must surely mark one of the low points in Tanzimat literary criticism.

Addressing himself to the contents of the mukaddime, 'Abdūrrahmān once again dismantles the definitions provided, examines each constituent word in minute detail, and then discards it in favour of another. Cevdet Paşa defines tenāfūr-i hurūf thus:

"Kelimeniñ lisān üzere şikletini ve telaffuzunuñ  
'usretini icāb eden bir keyfīyetdir ki hiss-ü  
-zevk ile bilinir. Mürtefi' ma'nāsında müsteşzir  
ve istatistik kelimeleri ve işsiz ve güçsüz  
lafzları gibi" (p. 8)

Although this description is far from adequate, it is sufficient to allow the reader to identify the linguistic phenomenon through his instinctive reaction to euphony and harmony. This linguistic fault could well have been explained according to the canons of Arabic phonetics: two consecutive consonants sharing the same point of articulation but differing in voice and affrication will require an intervening vowel to facilitate pronunciation. However such analysis would be redundant where most readers, we may presume, were aware of this phenomenon, and instinctively avoided it without necessarily being able to explain it in phonetic terms. Cevdet's choice of "işsiz" and "güçsüz" as Turkish examples of tenāfūr-i hurūf are not as persuasive as the Arabic example taken from the Telhīs.<sup>1</sup>

'Abdūrrahmān however, resists the temptation to pursue these lines of criticism, preferring instead to dwell on those elements which are irrelevant to Cevdet Paşa's presentation. He devotes three-quarters of a page to pointing out that "müsteşzir" does not mean "mürtefi'", and devotes several lines to arguing that "istatistik" (Fr. statistique) should be more correctly spelt "statistik"; while he concedes that its orthography has not yet been established in some languages (among which we presume he includes Ottoman); he uses this fact as an argument for

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1 Telhīs, p. 24.



including it in the section dealing with garābet rather than tenāfūr. It is curious that he should wish to dwell on this illustration as he seems to be in ignorance of its meaning, equating it with "mīzāniye" (budgeting or balancing of accounts). Although 'Abdūrrahmān may have felt uneasy about the inclusion of "iṣsiz" and "güçsüz" within the category of tenāfūr, he does not object to them, but rather seems to accept them implicitly when he offers the phrase "ṭatsız tuzsuz şanā'i'" from the text of the Belāğat-i 'Osmāniye as a more convincing illustration of this fault.<sup>1</sup> This attack on Cevdet's style falls short of its mark in three aspects: firstly, while Cevdet objects to a combination of a çīm or a şīn with a sīn, he may well have considered them quite compatible with tā' or zā'; secondly, as "şanā'i'" is faṣīh in itself, one may presume that 'Abdūrrahmān disapproved of the construction "tuzsuz şanā'i'", in which case what is being illustrated is not tenāfūr-i hurūf, but rather tenāfūr-i kelimāt; finally, the implication that Cevdet Paşa's own style lacks feṣāhat does not in any way invalidate his argument.

'Abdūrrahmān's unbridled zeal in casting doubt on the quality of the scholarship in the Belāğat-i 'Osmāniye allows him unwittingly to criticise Cevdet's interpretation of his own poetic composition. The Menāzarū 'l-İnşā illustrates ta'kīd with the following beyt:

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1 B.O., 26.

(R3) Men ne-mī-āyem ez ān der kūy-ı tū  
Tā tūvānem dīd dā'im rūy-ı tū

which Cevdet translates into Turkish as:

(R5) Dergeh-i luṭfūñe gelmem zīrā  
 Seni her dem göre-bilmek dilerem<sup>1</sup>

Cevdet, following the Menāzarū 'l-İnşā, interprets this beyt as meaning: "to come to the convent of the beloved presumes absence from him. The [writer's] wish is that he may return from exile and always be there [in the presence of his beloved]. In other words, I will not leave your convent, because I wish to see you always".<sup>2</sup>

This explanation is too far-fetched for 'Abdūrrahmān, who, seemingly unaware that this illustrative beyt was a translation of a Persian original, attributes its composition to a dervish, no doubt suggested to him by the word "dergeh", which is employed by Cevdet in a purely figurative sense.

The commentary offers several more observations and criticisms and, leaving off at page eighteen of the Belāğat-i 'Osmānīye, recommences at page twenty-eight with

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1 Trans: I will not come towards the convent of your grace  
 Because I wish to always gaze upon your face

2 M.I., 20; B. O., 15.

renewed vigour. 'Abdürrahmān devotes more than nine pages to a critique of the first two pages of the lāhika (pp. 28-29). The Ta'likāt does not offer a consistent treatment of the text, rather it alights only on those passages which offer scope for criticism. Not all of it is groundless however; on several occasions 'Abdürrahmān identifies faults in the Belāgat-i 'Osmāniye. Cevdet Paşa's felicitous rendition of the Arabic formula, "Lā ilāhe illa 'llāh", as "Yokdur tapacak Çalabdır ancak" is criticised by 'Abdürrahmān, who felt that the translation made for bad Turkish and offers the pedantic alternative: "Çalabdan başka tapacak yokdur". While our commentator is hypercritical of Cevdet's definition of muḥālefet-i kıyās on several grounds, all of which are tenuous, he does however make one sound observation, but in a footnote, almost as an afterthought: the definition, "Kıyāsa muḥālefet: kelimeniñ, kavā'id-i 'Osmāniyeye ve ehl-i lisāniñ isti'māline muḥālif olmasıdır", he points out, is tautological.<sup>1</sup>

The Ta'likāt can best be characterised as a vehicle for a personal attack on Cevdet Paşa, rather than a

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1 Ta'likāt, 24-25. Cevdet's version, "Yokdur tapacak Çalabdır ancak", is couched in the form generally associated with Turkish proverbs, e.g. "Tañrıdan korkan kuldān korkmaz" or "Taş atar uğur arar".

constructive review of his work. 'Abdürrahmān Süreyyā does not seem to represent an ideological viewpoint; the bases of his criticism and the form in which they are couched suggest that the author is venting his personal dislike of Cevdet Paşa rather than reviewing the Belāğat-i 'Osmāniye in a constructive way. The commentator's contempt for the Paşa is evident in many passages, and it is obvious even to the most casual reader that the aim of his commentary is to discredit Cevdet's scholarship. However, certain passages, such as the three-page gloss on the word "mukaddime", do not offer any criticism of Cevdet's treatment, being an extrapolation of the text, totally irrelevant, but in no sense hostile, to it. These passages may well have been included in order that the Ta'likāt could be presented as a commentary rather than a critique, so that the true purpose of the composition could be disguised, a direct attack on an eminent statesman such as Cevdet Paşa by a correspondent of the Ceride-i 'Askeriye being considered unacceptable.

The basis for 'Abdürrahmān's enmity for Cevdet Paşa is not clear from the text of the Ta'likāt, any suggestion will of necessity be speculative. The impression left by the Ta'likāt is that its author was a scholar of the old school, educated in a medrese, and completely immersed in the trivial arguments fostered by a system of education which could only accommodate itself to changing social values by the introduction of yet a further gloss to the

body of commentary on a text written several centuries before. This accords with the fact that he was born and partly educated in Baghdad where, we may presume, he received a good grounding in the traditional sciences, and this may have aroused in him resentment against Cevdet, whom he may have perceived as undermining the status of the Arabic language by translating the Arabic sciences into a Turkish context. Although the official language of government had always been Turkish, the language of higher education was Arabic, this fact alone offering an advantage to scholars in the Arab lands which partly made up for their disadvantage of living at a distance from the centre of the Empire, Istanbul. Cevdet Paşa's plans to replace the medium of instruction with Turkish would have effectively removed this advantage.

Although the Ta'likāt required no refutation, the triviality of the points raised in the work serving best to relegate it to the dusty shelves of scholastic pedantry whence Cevdet Paşa was attempting to drag the Ottoman educational system, it did however attract two rebuttals. The first of these, entitled the Hall-i Ta'likāt was written by a student of the Mekteb-i Hukūk, who otherwise remains anonymous. In a later work entitled the Redd-i Tahlīl, the identity of the student is revealed as 'Alī Sedād Bey, Cevdet Paşa's son. In the introduction, which is remarkable for its freedom from stylistic artifice normally associated with the dībāce to a work, he accuses

'Abdūrrahmān of perpetrating many errors, some of which he will attempt to correct, leaving the majority of them to someone more competent than himself in Turkish composition.

The format of the Hall-i Ta'likāt is that of a review, 'Alī Sedād takes each offensive passage, quotes it in full, and then subjects 'Abdūrrahmān's opinion to critical analysis. The work is uncompromisingly hostile to the Ta'likāt, no attempt being made to disguise the author's animosity. In reacting to the trivial nature of the critique presented by the Ta'likāt, 'Alī Sedād is led to replying in an equally petty manner. It would, indeed, be too much to expect a student to rise above the mediocrity of his elders and to abandon the time-honoured format of serial commentary on a text, in which every opportunity for an attack on the author is relentlessly pursued to its logical end and often beyond it. Cevdet Paşa's son would have done himself more credit had he merely ignored the Ta'likāt, allowing it to condemn itself. It may be assumed therefore that 'Alī Sedād's counter-attack stemmed not only from filial duty, but was a response to a body of opinion current at the time.

The method of presentation of the Hall-i Ta'likāt is less like a classical commentary than an undergraduate review, which in fact is precisely what it is. More than half the work consists of quotation from the Ta'likāt,

'Alī Sedād's contribution being purely critical. This technique is effective in that it presents the arguments of the Ta'likāt in toto, allowing the reader to appreciate their banality. The refutations, which in some cases consist of only a few words, are often restricted to short contradictory sentences. When, for example, the Ta'likāt criticises Cevdet Paşa's Turkish style, the Hall merely observes that "Orasını Türkçe bilenlerden şormalı" (p. 6). The effect of this type of brief response is to dismiss with contempt the contribution of the Ta'likāt, as for example, when the Hall offers the following appreciation of a beyt, considered the model of elegance by 'Abdürrahmān: "İşte bu beyt Kürdceyi aşıdırır" (p. 27). There is no doubt that this insult refers to 'Abdürrahmān's ethnic origin; in a previous comment 'Alī Sedād questioned 'Abdürrahmān's competence to pronounce judgement on selāset thus: "Eş'ār-ı 'Osmānīyenin selāsetini üdebā-yi 'Osmāniye aşılar, yoksa Türkçe bilmez bir Kürd aşılayamaz" (p. 26). 'Alī Sedād will however argue his case at some length when he feels it is necessary.

Prefixing the formula "A'üzü bi-'llāh mine 'ş-şeytāni 'r-recīm" to the bismillāh, 'Alī Sedād begins his work with a studied insult, and then proceeds to the text of the Ta'likāt, where he objects to the suggestion that "milel-i mütemeddine" or "akvām-ı mütemeddine" would have been preferable to Cevdet's "Ṭavā'if-i mütemeddine". 'Alī Sedād maintains that a millet (singular of "milel") is a

social group based on religion, and as every schoolchild knows from his catechism ('ilm-i hāl), nation and religion are one and the same. The argument is not well developed, and far from clear. Our law student seems to have erroneously presumed that "mütemeddine" (radicals: M-D-N) is derived from "dīn" (radicals: D-Y-N), and therefore objects to the tautological expression "milel-i mütemeddine".

"Ṭavā'if", he believes, is a commonly used expression in Ottoman, and needs no gloss or explanation, indeed servile dependence on etymological derivations culled from the Arabic lexicon can often lead to errors (pp. 4-5). In other words he is implicitly adopting the position that commonly used Ottoman words have their own validity, based on the usage of the people; to ascribe to them significations based exclusively on their original form in the language from which they have been borrowed will produce nonsense: common usage and the context will always be the surest guide. It is unfortunate that his lapse into grave error on a question of etymology will inevitably arouse in the reader the suspicion that 'Alī Sedād's mistrust of the Arabic lexicon stems from his weakness in the language rather than his concern for defending the authority of Ottoman usage. Following the gloss on "Ṭavā'if Mütemeddine" in the Ta'likāt, he takes issue with the grammatical analysis of the construction: 'Alī Sedād would read it as a terkīb-i vasfī (!) rather than as an izāfet, and in either case would have preferred "mütemeddine" to have been written with a "tā'-i ṭavīl"



(sic!). It is clear that 'Alī Sedād's views are unacceptable, not only according to the canons of Arabic grammar, but even in the context of Ottoman usage.

Many of the criticisms levelled against the Ta'likāt are on questions of Ottoman usage: when 'Abdūrrahmān objects to the use of "diyānet" in the phrase "diyānet-i islāmīye", presumably preferring "dīn", 'Alī Sedād points out that the word, far from being unacceptable, is commonly used and he encourages his readers to continue using it (p. 6). Dealing with the word "istatistik", 'Alī Sedād rejects the explanation offered in the Ta'likāt on the grounds that the word had been used for several years and there was no longer any need to explain its origins. Ottoman usage required the initial hemze to allow it to be more easily pronounced, its original form being irrelevant in the light of popular acceptance in the Ottoman orthography.

However, 'Alī Sedād is unable to divest himself of all the conventions of classical scholarship, and will occasionally have recourse to the authorities, as when he quotes a passage from the Mutavvel, restricting his own comment to: "Buraları görülmüş olsaydı, böyle şübheye düşülmezdi" (p. 28). Far more significant is the way in which he mercilessly exploits the fact that 'Abdūrrahmān had failed to recognise that a beyt quoted by Cevdet Paşa was a translation from the Persian of the Menāzırü 'l-İnşā.

He subsequently cites the book as an authority, and expresses the opinion that it had not been studied by the commentator (p. 23).

Although the Hall-i Ta'likāt consists of little more than a series of ill-prepared arguments, dwelling on trivia and motivated by a passionate desire to discredit a scholar of the old school, it can nevertheless be presented as an inarticulate plea for a fresh approach to the Ottoman language. Our student author is appealing for the abandonment of the accepted principles governing the writing of Ottoman, the time-honoured criteria founded on the didactic classification of the Arabic linguistic sciences, which having been brought to fruition through centuries of scholasticism and subsequently fossilised in a body of knowledge, every bit as immutable as the holy scriptures, now held the Ottoman language in the vice of pietist conservatism. Ottoman was for 'Alī Sedād, a dynamic living language, fully entitled to borrow and adapt features from other languages without the necessity of submitting to the constraints of grammar and orthography or usage peculiar to the language of this source. "İstatistik", he argues implicitly, is an Ottoman word borrowed from French and phonetically adapted to suit the Ottoman speaker, the original orthography and pronunciation being irrelevant to all but the pedant.

The Ta'likāt attracted a second commentary, the Temyiz-i Ta'likāt by el-Hācc İbrāhīm (d. 1891), an Arabic scholar who had studied in the Hicāz and subsequently moved to Istanbul where he opened the Dārü 't-Ta'līm, a private school which aimed at providing an education in the Arabic language and literature in five years.<sup>1</sup> The Temyiz, representing the first of his contributions to the study of the classical languages, was followed by a commentary on the Belāğat-i 'Osmāniye (1301/1883); and two translations of Arabic works on grammar, the Nahv Tercemesi and the Şarf Tercemesi (both 1304/1886); and a work on literature, the Edebîyât-ı 'Osmāniye (1305/1887).

El-Hācc İbrāhīm professes to having been shocked by the manner and severity of the criticisms offered in the Ta'likāt. It is, he maintains, conventional for commentators and super-commentators to present criticism in an acceptable form, the purpose of their work being a sincere desire to establish the truth of the matter (hakikat-i hāl). As the author of the Ta'likāt had overstepped the bounds of propriety, El-Hācc İbrāhīm felt it incumbent upon himself to correct some of the errors in the work. It is interesting to note that the function of commentary is perceived as

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1 O.M., I, 287; O. Ergin, Türkiye Maarif Tarihi, III (Istanbul, 1941), 777-781.

that of "establishing the truth" (hakikat-i hāl meydāna çıkmak) and not of understanding, interpreting, or presenting it to the student.

The Temyiz-i Ta'likāt defends Cevdet Paşa's contribution to the study of belāğat against the unwarranted attacks of 'Abdürrahmān. However no matter how much he may pretend to be shocked by the hostile tone adopted by the Ta'likāt, his own work is not free from the petty insults and gibes which characterise both the Ta'likāt and the Hall, and the standard of scholarship evinced in it is not worthy of a schoolteacher. As we cannot reasonably accept that the principal motivation for this critique was a sincere desire to further the cause of the study of Turkish rhetoric, we are justified in presuming that El-Hācc İbrāhīm is intent on discrediting 'Abdürrahmān, either for reasons of personal enmity or in the hope that by doing so he may attract the favourable opinion of the great statesman who was author of the Belāğat-i 'Osmāniye.

In form, the Temyiz-i Ta'likāt resembles very much the Hall-i Ta'likāt, and what is more curious, is the fact that many of the ideas, arguments and choice of word and phrase suggests that one of these works is dependent on the other. The criticism levelled at the Ta'likāt in many of the passages are based on the same criteria in each of the works, and what is more damning, both works fall into similar errors, as when the Temyiz objects to the

tautological expression, "milel-i mütemeddine", based on the paradigm that millet and dīn are one, and the mistaken presumption that "mütemeddine" is derived from the root of "dīn". Internal evidence would tend to suggest that the Temyīz plagiarised the Hall, of which it is about half the size, and argues only a third of the issues raised in the latter work; of these only five quotations from the Ta'likāt are not to be found in the Hall. Apart from the textual evidence, there are very good reasons for postulating that the Hall appeared prior to the publication of the Temyīz. When 'Abdūrrahmān wrote his rebuttal to these two books, he divided it into two sections, the first of which dealt with the Hall, and the second with the Temyīz. One of 'Alī Sedād's subsequent critical reviews of the Ta'likāt is entitled the ikmāl-i Temyīz, which is devoted to that part of the Ta'likāt which the Temyīz omitted to deal with, its very title suggesting that it was intended to supplement the Temyīz, which must, therefore, have appeared prior to it, but presumably after the Hall.

The author of the Temyīz is guilty not only of too literal a dependence on the Hall, but also of misrepresenting the work he is reviewing. On one occasion he totally distorts 'Abdūrrahmān's explanation, and then proceeds to attack it, not forgetting to add to it a calculated insult. The Ta'likāt analyses "Ṭavā'if-i Mütemeddine" thus:

"Bu taqdīrce 'Ṭavā'if'ın 'mütemeddine' lafzına izāfesi şıfatıñ mevsūfa izāfesi kabīlinden olub, şıfat müfred ve mevsūf cem' olmak hasebi-yle şıfat ve mevsūfuñ 'adem-i muṭābakası gibi bir kâ'idesizlik hātıra gelirse de her bir cem', cemā'at i'tibārı-yle hem müfred ve hem de mü'ennes olduğundan muṭābakat hāşıl olmuş olur." (p. 5)

The Temyiz, however, argues:

"Şıfat ve mevsūf cem' olmak hasebi-yle şıfat ve mevsūf 'adem-i muṭābakası gibi bir kâ'idesizlik hātıra geliyor, demesi daḥi yakışık almıyor, çünkü bundan evvel şāhib-i Ta'likāt ṭavā'ife şıfat ve mütemeddineye mevsūf demiş idi. Burada ise şıfat müfred ve mevsūf cem'dir diyor ki bundan ṭavā'ifiñ müfred ve mütemeddineniñ cem' olması lāzim geliyor. Subḥāna'llāh, bu ne kadar ğalat ve ne kadar ğafletdir." (p. 5)

The Tahlīl-i Hall, by 'Abdūrrahmān Süreyyā, appeared soon after the publication of the Temyiz-i Ta'likāt, and was intended as a refutation of the attacks made on the Ta'likāt, by both the Hall and the Temyiz, and is accordingly divided into two sections. The first of these is no more than a concentrated counter-attack on the Hall, from which

eighty-three passages are quoted and refuted; 'Abd'urrahmān concentrates on the task of parrying each of 'Alī Sedād's criticisms, allowing himself no digressions. The triviality of the arguments render the work virtually unreadable to all but the partisans of the debate. The second section of the Tahlīl is devoted to answering the criticisms presented in the Temyīz, most of which are exactly the same as those of the Hall, and not surprisingly he goes over much of the same material covered in the first section. 'Abd'urrahmān does, however, restrict himself to answering only fifteen of the criticisms levelled against the Ta'likāt, and allows himself more space in which to argue his points. This second section is in essence as trivial in argument as the first, but by confining the debate to a limited number of topics, it is rendered far more readable than the former, which hardly has the dignity of a literary debate.

In order to counter 'Abd'urrahmān's Tahlīl-i Hall, 'Alī Sedād joined with two of his fellow students from the Mekteb-i Hukūk, Mahmūd Es'ad and Mehmed Fā'ik, in the authorship of a work entitled the Redd-i Tahlīl, which is unredeemed by any intrinsic merit, reducing the arguments to absurdity. Whereas the Tahlīl presents the material in the form of a script with three dramatis personae, the Ta'likāt, the Hall and the cevāb, the Redd-i Tahlīl adds yet another, so that in some of the eighty-two individual topics of debate the dialogue is developed through the

texts of the Ta'likāt, the Hall, the Tahlīl and the Redd. Many of the points are not argued but are merely repetitions of previously-stated positions, an economy of language, even to the point of incomprehensibility, being the keynote in this work. The following dialogue (p. 19), although the briefest and therefore an extreme example, can with some justification be considered indicative of the tenor of the whole work:

Hall: İkişi mużāf ileyhiñ ilh [ilā āhiri-hi]  
Tahlīl: Bu da yañlıştır.  
Redd: Niçin?

Not satisfied with having the last word in this debate, Maḥmūd Es'ad and 'Alī Sedād each prepared a further work which was intended to supplement the Temyīz-i Ta'likāt. The first of these, the İtmām-ı Temyīz by Maḥmūd Es'ad, is devoted to a discussion of three epistemological questions raised in the Belāğat-i 'Osmāniye and subjected to criticism in the Ta'likāt. The İkmāl-i Temyīz, by 'Alī Sedād, was published five days after the İtmām, and is in both appearance and content very similar to it. In the İkmāl we find western sources cited for the first time in the course of this debate. 'Alī Sedād introduces Descartes' epistemological argument, summed up in the syllogism, "cogito ergo sum", by way of a fresh approach to the classical presentation (pp. 5-8). The rest of the book is devoted to discussing issues raised by four passages in



the Ta'likāt. This essay concludes with the advice that the reader should refer to the European sciences in order to understand the relationship between rhetoric and logic (p. 24).

The last contribution to the debate, the Nazīre-i Ta'likāt, is ostensibly the work of 'Abdūrrahmān Süreyyā. However the sarcastic tone of the work — it is in fact a parody of the pedantic style which characterised some of these polemics — casts doubt on the authorship of this lithograph. As a contribution to the discussion of the merits of the Belāgat-i 'Osmanīye, it is worthless, serving only to illustrate the bitterness that could be engendered by a debate such as this.<sup>1</sup>

The importance of this polemic lies not in its content, but rather as an illustration of the primitive level to which literary criticism had sunk in the early period of 'Abdülhamīd's reign. The scholarship evinced is at best trivial; but worse, it is faulty, truth and accuracy having

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1 This work was described by a contemporary thus:

"Heyhāt, bunlar [the previous works in the controversy] kāfī degilmiş de bir başka eglence daha lāzim imiş. O da eñ şofra kimiñ tarafından neşr olunduğu bilinmiyen tezyīf-nāmedir ki: ser-ā-pā eglenceden 'ibāret olub muhteviyātından bir netice-i edebīye çıkarılamaz." (Cāzim, Belāgat [Istanbul, 1304/1886], p. 10).

fallen victim to vituperation. Although the style and format is that of the classical gloss, these works were mere parodies of commentaries, the real function of which is to view a body of received knowledge, in the light of new experience and perspective. These works, with the sole exception of the İkmāl-i Temyīz, make no attempt to introduce new ideas from the West, thus retaining the faults of the classical mode of presentation without the redeeming feature of some new idea worth communicating. If this controversy mirrors the intellectual ambiance in which the Belāğat-i 'Osmānīye was written, — and there is no reason to assume that it did not — then we can only liken Cevdet Paşa's contribution to that of the sower casting his seed on stony ground.

It would seem that for many of the "üdebā", the sole criterion for critical appraisal was whether the statement was true or not. Furthermore a partial truth or proximity towards it, seems as unsatisfactory to the commentator as complete falsehood, nothing less than the complete and absolute truth will do. At no point in the debate, is the question raised as to whether the Belāğat-i 'Osmānīye is successful in its goal of providing a suitable text-book for students. This fault is common to much of classical Arabic scholarship, the same criteria of criticism being employed for all written works, whether they be addressed to the schoolboy, the student or the scholar. Even the defenders of the work fail to make the point that the

Belāġat-i 'Osmānīye succeeds in its goal of providing law students with a text-book for the study of the Ottoman language, and as such, filled a serious gap in the new syllabus. They, too, are totally committed to the quest for the absolute truth of the statement rather than the utility of the work. Nowhere do these literary critics attempt to balance the deficiencies of the work against its merits.

The introductions to some of these works which have been discussed allow us to form some idea of the society for which the Belāġat-i 'Osmānīye was written. The social life of much of the intelligentsia of Istanbul consisted of literary soirées where students and teachers discussed the latest works and ideas.<sup>1</sup> Cevdet Paşa's work must certainly have circulated in these gatherings and would naturally have provoked discussion. Whereas we might have expected a negative reaction to an essentially conservative work to have come from the modernists with their insatiable appetite for western ideas, the opposite was the case: 'Abdūrrahmān's objections emanated from his anxiety to preserve the authority of Arabic grammatical principles in the Ottoman language. His opponents, on the other hand,

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1 See the introductions to the Ta'likāt, the Hall and the Temyīz, where the authors explain that the idea of writing their works came about in the course of literary soirées.

merely took the moderate viewpoint that the Ottoman language had its own integrity, and was free to develop without the constraints imposed by adherence to a system of grammatical rules alien to Turkish morphology and syntax.

Cevdet Paşa's contributions to Ottoman grammar and rhetoric had the effect of endowing the language with an autonomy it had previously lacked. Ottoman had hitherto developed as a body of conventions, unrestricted by a universally accepted theory of style. It was a language divorced from scholarship, being the property of the governing class; scholars discussed literary theory only in respect of Arabic. By introducing the study of Ottoman language and rhetoric into the educational system, Cevdet Paşa had broken the monopoly which Arabic had held in the field of literary theory.

It is only in the light of this controversy that we can appreciate the value of the Belāğat-i 'Osmānīye. It initiated a debate, in which Cevdet Paşa was implicitly proposing that the Ottoman language was a viable medium of communication, and possessed all the attributes of a language, a morphology, a syntax and a rhetoric, characteristics which many Islamic scholars conceived of as being peculiar to Arabic. Opposing the proposition, lay a body of opinion which believed that the criteria for determining correct Ottoman were to be found in the classical theory of the Arabic linguistic sciences.

One cannot divorce this debate from its historical background: in 1881 'Abdülhamîd had barely consolidated his basis of support in the state, most of the Balkan territories had been lost, and the Arab vilâyets had acquired an importance within the Empire previously denied them. As the parliament of 1876 had been prorogued, there was no forum in which the Arab intelligentsia could voice their claim to a greater share in the direction of state policy. It may be argued that one way in which Arab scholars could exert their influence in the cultural reorientation of the Empire was by demanding that the Ottoman language adhere more closely to the rules of Arabic grammar, rather than merely pay lip-service to some of the conventions of the language from which it had so freely borrowed its vocabulary.

It is significant that 'Abdürrahmân Süreyyâ had been educated in an Arab province, his prestige as a scholar undoubtedly depending to some extent on his skill in Arabic, an advantage which he would naturally wish to guard jealously. It is unfortunate that his education conditioned him to argue his case at its most trivial level. While one might have wished that the other participants had raised the tone of the debate, it should be remembered that they too were probably products of the same educational system. In this respect the debate is of crucial significance to the study of Ottoman rhetoric: it illustrates most vividly the intellectual ambiance in which both the

Belāġat-i 'Osmāniye and the Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt were written. The appallingly low standard of critical awareness current in this period gives to these works a preeminence which intrinsically they do not merit.

It is ironic that an essentially conservative work such as the Belāġat-i 'Osmāniye was able to arouse an impassioned debate on language in a way that neither the Mebāni 'l-İnşā, the Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt nor Nāmık Kemāl's "Mülāhazāt" had done. These latter works were influential, but their revolutionary nature deprived them of a wider readership, the concepts discussed therein being so unfamiliar to contemporary society that the reaction to them remained one of cautious silence. Western criteria of literary criticism — indeed the very concept of "a literature" — was alien to most Ottomans with a traditional education. Cevdet's book elicits a response precisely because all the concepts are familiar, it discusses not "literature" but language, a field of study with which the Islamic sciences could cope adequately. By offering a new handbook of rhetoric to his students, Cevdet Paşa provoked a reaction which focused the students' attention on language. Some of 'Alī Sedād's observations could well have been in response to Kemāl's plea for a new and more pragmatic approach to Ottoman language, but they were not: rather they evolved naturally as replies to 'Abdürrahmān's pedantic criticisms. Cevdet Paşa had, in other words, unwittingly introduced the Turkish language

into the arguments and debates which had previously characterised the discussion of Arabic within the medreses, and it was now able to benefit from the highly developed theory of language, up to then applied only to Arabic.

## CHAPTER SIX

### THE MODERNIST APPROACH TO RHETORIC

The introduction of Western sciences into the Ottoman educational system, did not meet with universal approval. At first, an expedience to which the authorities had resorted only with great reluctance, it set in motion a chain of events which culminated in the complete destruction of the old subjects and methods, replacing them with replicas of foreign models. The criterion by which an alien science was introduced was generally one of utility, it had to serve an end which was universally approved and desired, namely the very survival of the Ottoman State. One of the causes for the decline of the Arabic sciences was the fact that their objective, that is the purpose for which they were fostered, had ceased to be obvious. The reasons for their presence on the syllabus had hitherto never been questioned, it was assumed that a knowledge of Arabic was good in itself, and a tool of Koranic exegesis. The frustration endured by the Ottomans when dealing with belāḡa had manifested itself in a number of attempts to translate the theory into Turkish, a movement which culminated in a Turkish version of the complete Mutavvel. This discomfort with classical rhetorical theory stemmed, in part, from the lack of any explicit justification for its study, in terms of immediate and tangible benefits



for society. During the period of the Tanzimat this criterion acquired the status of a sine qua non, not only for the introduction of the new sciences, but even for the retention of the old.

The Nineteenth Century revival in Islamic rhetoric came about partly through the influence of a group of traditional scholars, who wished to transpose the classical system into a Turkish setting, in order to make it relevant to the needs of an educated society in which a thorough knowledge of Arabic could no longer be presumed. The most eminent exponent of this cautious approach to modernisation was Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, whose ultimate justification for writing the Belāğat-i 'Osmāniye was the fact that the Koran was revealed in Arabic. However another school of scholars had already begun to adopt a radically different approach, which was to produce works of rhetoric intended to serve literature, just as it in turn would serve as an active force in moulding a new society. If the credit for founding this new school were to be given to any individual, it would be to Nāmık Kemāl. Likewise, if one were to seek any one moment in history to mark its birth, it would, without doubt, be the 16th and 19th of Rebī'ü 'l-Āhır, 1283 (29th July, 2nd August 1866), when there appeared an article in the newspaper, Taşvīr-i Efkār, entitled "Edebīyāt hakkında ba'zı Mülāhazāt". This short essay was in fact a literary manifesto, in which he envisaged a new literature, playing a new role in a new society,

and as part of his scheme for its creation, he demanded a new rhetoric.<sup>1</sup>

Nāmık Kemāl, having been imbued with the ideals of representative and consultative government, realised that such a political system would presume the existence of a language suitable as a medium for the exchange of ideas. The written word had the power to endow the individual with immortality, and at the same time serve society as a means of communication. Inspired by Buffon, to whom he tacitly alludes by quoting his dictum "Le style c'est l'homme même", he accepts that good style proceeds from sound thinking, presenting this dichotomy as "feṣāḥat-i edā" and "belāḡat-i mü'eddā". He has consciously associated the Western concept of eloquence, that is the mode of effective communication, with the technical terms drawn from classical rhetoric (p. 103). Implicit in this casual association is the notion that rhetoric can teach the student better to communicate his ideas. Justifying his conception of Western standards, Kemāl characteristically looks to an Islamic precedent and quotes Zemahşerī's observation to the effect that the word is more powerful than the sword, rendering the concept of persuasive speech as "ḥūkm-i belāḡat" (p. 104), and remarking that Ottoman

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1 This essay has been reproduced in Külliyāt-ı Kemāl: Makālāt-ı Siyāsīye ve Edebīye (Istanbul, n.d.), 102-125.

society lacked any tradition of eloquent speech, let alone oratory. In order to establish a literary tradition analogous to the literatures which had served to strengthen the unity of European nation-states, he presents a programme of action which he believed would further this cause.

His literary manifesto advocated five ways in which a national literature could be developed. Firstly, the principles of the language needed to be compiled and arranged systematically. Secondly, the practice of seeking unusual vocabulary to express simple concepts was to be condemned. Thirdly, the orthography must be reformed and standardised. As a fourth condition, he recommended a greater use of Turkish modes of constructing phrases, and finally, he deplored the current practice of employing figures of speech which tend to obfuscate the intention of the speaker (pp. 111-112). Among the steps he recommends for implementing these ideas is the compilation of a work of rhetoric (*belāğat kitābı*) suitable for Turkish. In particular, he is concerned with the 'ilm-i bedī', to which he refers as the "tezyīnāt-ı lafzīye" (p. 116). Of these, some will have to be discarded as unsuitable for Turkish, while at the same time it is conceded that many should be retained, as language is to some degree in need of ornamentation. More important than outward grace is sound content, which is for him the factor which will assure a work its place within the national literature.

In order to implement language reform, Kemāl suggested a five-point course of action: firstly, a better grammar of Turkish was to be composed; secondly, a well organised dictionary of the language was to be compiled; thirdly, the ğalaṭ-i meṣhūr, that is, Ottomanisms which violated the Arabic paradigm, were to be legitimised and accepted as an integral part of standard Ottoman Turkish; fourthly, an anthology of good Turkish writing was to be produced and taught in the schools; and fifthly, a work of rhetoric, appropriate to the Turkish language was to be written. Kemāl did, however, envisage difficulties with this last proposal; in particular, he foresaw a reaction from the conservative elements of society who might wish to preserve the old elegancies. He also recognised that a certain body of opinion, inspired by Western literary standards, was advocating the abandonment of all traditional ornamentation. Kemāl himself recommends a middle course which would rid the language of inappropriate figures and retain those that were effective (pp. 112-115).

The ornamentation to which he refers is that stock of rhetorical figures found in bedī'. He does not however suggest what criteria he would apply to the selection of tropes suited to Turkish, and indeed any critical analysis of bedī' would have been well without the scope of a short essay. He does, however, offer one example of how such a process of selection may proceed (p. 118). He takes the three types of hyperbole, makbūl, ma'kūl and medhūl, the

first being possible both rationally and experientially, the second being rational but improbable in the light of human experience, while the third admits of no possibility either by reason or from experience. This third kind, Kemāl argues, should be avoided, for its use stems from dissatisfaction with the beauties of nature (ṭabī'atīñ muḥassenātı) and seeking that which is superior to the works of God. Whoever strives for superiority over the works of God, far from being educated (edīb), is considered a philistine (bī-edīb).

The reasoning behind his decision to avoid the third type is far from clearly expressed. Whatever interpretation one puts on this passage the argument is not convincing, for it cannot be denied that irrational hyperbole is often extremely effective as an aid to communication.

As we shall see, Kemāl was to maintain a close watch on the development of an Ottoman rhetorical theory. He corresponded both with Recā'izāde Maḥmūd Ekrem and Süleymān Paşa, as indeed he did with many of the important writers of his day.<sup>1</sup> It is clear from the tone of his letters that he saw himself in the role of a teacher, feeling in

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1 His letters have been edited by F. A. Tansel, Namık Kemal'in Mektupları, 2 vols. (Ankara, 1967-69) and in Hususî Mektuplarına Göre Namık Kemal ve Abdülhak Hâmid (Ankara, 1949).

himself the authority to advise and criticise, untroubled by the fear that his attitude might have been considered excessively patronising. His criticism is always blunt, his praise always moderated by correction or reproof. When writing to Ekrem Bey he did not hesitate to provide detailed critiques, as when, for example, he received a copy of Mes Prisons, a translation which had recently been published by Ekrem (1291/1874):

"Mes Prisons bir kaç def'a okudum; sâir eserlerinden aşağı buldum; lâkin ta'rîzâtının yüzde doksanı sana değil müellifi içindir . . . Terceme husûsunda birçok i'tirazlarım var; ez cümle kâfiye-perverlik ziyâde. Bâzi nâ-ma'rûf istılâhlar var. Tetâbû'-ı izâfât dahî bâzı yerlerde hadd-i cevâzı geçmiş. Bâ-husûs ki, kitâbın ibtidâsında olan mebhasler ile, sonunda mebhasler, bir lisân-ı edebte değil. Evvelkileri biraz fasih edivermek, senin için güç birşey değil idi."<sup>1</sup>

Kemâl not only criticises but offers advice, as when he suggests in a letter to Ekrem that he should read the works of the following authors: Walter Scott, Hugo, Alexandre Dumas, George Sand, Balzac, Eugène Sue, Ponson

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1 Namık Kemal'in Mektupları, I, 344-45. Transcription is the editor's.

du Terrail and Bulwer-Lytton. Besides the obvious interest which Kemāl maintained in literature, he was also passionately engrossed in questions of language and constantly raises issues concerning certain usages in his letters. While in exile his correspondence is filled with pleas for certain books, among them works of rhetoric. Writing to a certain 'Osmān Bey in 1875 he asks: "Hani Mutavvel? Üzerine mi oturdun? Ne yaptın? Edebiyata âit bir kitab yazacağım, âna muctâcım"<sup>1</sup>, clearly a reference to the translation by 'Abdünnāfi'. Similarly he was to show an extraordinary impatience in awaiting the arrival of copies of the Mebāni 'l-İnşā and the Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt.

Five years after Kemāl's article on literature, there appeared the first volume of a work on literary theory: the Mebāni 'l-İnşā. Its author, Süleymān Paşa (1838-1892), was a committed modernist, participating wholeheartedly in the quest for new standards in both the political and literary domains. In 1876, while director of the Mekteb-i 'Ulūm-ı Harbīye, he was to play a leading role in the deposition of 'Abdül'azīz, in co-operation with Hüseyin 'Avnī Paşa, the commander-in-chief of the Army, to whom the Mebāni 'l-İnşā is dedicated. He later commanded the troops at the Şipka Pass (1877-78), sharing with Gāzī 'Osmān Paşa the credit for holding back the invading

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1 Namık Memal'in Mektupları, I, 372. Editor's transcription.

Russian army. His heroic stand against the enemy, however, did not save him from being exiled to Baghdad (1878-92), where his reformist zeal could be safely contained.

Published by the press of the Harbîye in two volumes (1288-89/1871-72), the Mebāni 'l-İnşā is a literary handbook, a compendium of rhetoric, poetics and stylistics. It was the first Ottoman work of literary theory to take cognisance of western ideas, probably as a direct response to Kemāl's manifesto in the Taṣvīr-i Efkār in 1283/1866, the text of which he published in extenso in an appendix (II, 246-261).<sup>1</sup>

Süleymān Paşa was uncompromisingly progressive, not in deed only, but also in his writings. It is to be regretted that the Mebāni 'l-İnşā appeared in the formative years of Tanzimat literature, for had he undertaken this pioneering work several years later, it would most certainly have evinced a firmer grasp of French literary ideas. Handicapped by his limited knowledge of foreign literatures, he was, also, restricted by the conservative nature of the society for which he was writing, a readership which he was careful not to alienate by the premature use of

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1 Süleymān Paşa and Kemāl were childhood friends. For an account of their relationship see F. A. Tansel, "Süleyman Paşa ile Namık Kemal'in Münâsebât ve Muhâberâtı", Türkiyat Mecmuası, XI (1954), p. 131-152.



the neologism, "edebîyât" in the title of his book. The Mebānî 'l-İnşā is not, as its title would suggest, a work confined exclusively to epistolography, or even prose composition in its broadest sense, the second volume being devoted to poetics; this apparent contradiction may be reconciled if we assume that by inşā is intended edebîyât, a term used in the text with no obvious reluctance. As the work describes, to some extent, European literary theory, we should take the expression inşā as signifying "literature", rendered into Turkish as edebîyât. This latter term had already been used by Kemāl to encompass both of the classical divisions of şî'r and inşā into which all of the āşār-ı edebîye could, in theory, be divided.

In a later work, the Ta'rîḫ-i 'Ālem, Süleymān Paşa was to advocate Turcism and the language reforms necessitated by this ideology.<sup>1</sup> A man of action and vision, Süleymān Paşa yet lacked a clear understanding both of the problems to be overcome, and the means available for their solution. Having been born in the reign of Maḥmūd II, there was virtually no possibility of his acquiring the necessary

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1 Ziyā Gökalp gives the credit for the foundation of Turkism to Ahmed Vefîk Paşa and Süleymān Paşa (The Principles of Turkism, p. 4), whom he believed to be prime movers in the rise of Turkish nationalism (Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization, p. 66).

education which would allow such ideas to mature; he could do no more than scatter the seeds, some of which might germinate in the fresh soil of the new generation.

He modeled the Mebāni on an unpretentious work by Émile Lefranc, entitled Traité Théorique et Pratique de Littérature, published in three volumes, the first dealing with ideas, style, and composition, the second with categories of poetry, and the third with prose and public rhetoric.<sup>1</sup> This tripartite literary theory was intended by Lefranc to be the prologomena to an ambitious project of universal literary history, consisting of one volume each on the literatures of the Greeks, the Latins and Christianity, three on the French, and two on foreign literatures. This eleven-volumed literary survey, designated the Cours élémentaire de littérature, was designed to meet the educational needs of the Second Republic and the Empire of Napoleon III, a meritocracy regulated by state examinations. This handbook offered ready answers to questions which had already been posed in the text, so that the student, ever mindful of his immediate goal, a pass in the examinations, could judge his progress

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1 Originally published in three volumes in Paris, 1837, each volume subsequently saw a number of reprints: Vol. I, 6 rep. between 1843 and 1880; II, four between 1842 and 1858; and III, three between 1842 and 1874.

by measuring his ability to assimilate the material against the question asked. The text begins thus (I, 13):

1er. — De la logique

1. Qu'est-ce que la logique? — 2. Sur quoi s'exerce l'art de penser? — 3. Quelles sont les principales facultés de l'esprit? —
4. Qu'est-ce que comprend la logique?

1. La Logique est l'art de penser.

2. L'art de penser s'exerce sur les idées au moyen des diverses facultés de l'esprit.

3. Les principales facultés de l'esprit sont la sensibilité et l'entendement.

4. La Logique comprend: 1<sup>o</sup> les idées; 2<sup>o</sup> les facultés de l'esprit; 3<sup>o</sup> l'emploi des facultés de l'esprit ou la méthode.

This work would have had an immediate appeal to a man such as Süleymān Paşa, an Ottoman of progressive temperament but deprived of immediate access to the works of European literature. He was to do for Ottoman literature what a previous generation had done for the military sciences: translating a basic text-book which had already found general acceptance in the country of origin. The weakness

of this pragmatic approach was that while the military sciences were in themselves of European origin, the literary theory was intended for a literature as yet little influenced by the West. Süleymān Paşa had, in short, committed the cardinal error of applying a literary theory evolved from one tradition to a literature based upon another. One should be sympathetic, for in many aspects the Traité must have seemed, if only superficially, rather familiar. Because the method of presentation is a response to the same pedagogical requirements for which the Telhīs was composed, the work shares, in common with the Arabic tradition of literary theory, many points of similarity, the most striking of which is the tendency to divide and classify, to order and categorise, features most commonly associated with the scholastic tradition. Moreover, as the work reflects the literary tastes of a period dominated by the romanticists it shares some of the same aesthetic principles, and inevitably it will share some concepts common to all literatures. Occasionally a scheme of classification peculiar to one literature will seem ideally suited to adaptation, tempting the borrower to apply it to an alien system, even though, in fact, the similarity goes no deeper than mere lexical equivalence.

We can easily understand how Süleymān Paşa may well have been beguiled by the apparent facility with which the Traité lent itself to translation from the definition

of literature offered in the introduction to the work.<sup>1</sup> At the lexical level, that is, in terms of rendering each word with an immediate correspondence, one could well imagine the definition to have been written by an Ottoman describing his own literature. Lefranc's tripartite division of style, le style sublime, tempéré and simple, can be rendered familiarly into Turkish as "kelām-i 'ālī", "kelām-i mu'tedil", and "kelām-i basīṭ" without misrepresenting the purport of the original. One wonders, however, what an Ottoman reader would make of such ideas as "servet" (richesse), "nezāket" (finesse), "zarāfet" (delicatesse) and "ṭalāvet" (grace) as distinct concepts. However, as traditional Islamic literary theory does not recognise such qualities, the reader cannot be misled too far; but when rhétorique and éloquence are rendered as belāğat and feṣāḥat confusion must surely ensue. Having adopted these lexical equivalents, Sūleymān Paşa then proceeds to provide corresponding examples of political and military speeches under the headings "Feṣāḥat-i Politikiye" and "Feṣāḥat-i 'Askeriye".

However misleading the work may be, it does nevertheless represent the first attempt to impose Western literary theory on an Islamic language. One might suggest that had he merely translated the Traité, he would surely have

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1 Vol. I, p. 11. The text of this passage is given below, p. 142.

better served his students, for this in itself is an excellent work from which to gain an insight into Western literary practice. However it does presume some degree of awareness of the product of the Western European literary effort. A translation of the theory would therefore have been useless as a guide to European methods of criticism, without the context of some of the literature from which it was evolved. (The converse was also true: contemporary Europeans approaching Islamic literary theory discovered belāḡa to be totally inadequate as a guide, without its context, and it has consequently never been translated into a European language in its entirety.) Süleymān Paşa's effort to provide Ottoman with a rhetorical theory of its own is based on a compromise, being neither a complete translation of Western theory, nor its wholesale imposition on the classical language. It takes those features of French theory which most closely resemble an Islamic counterpart, albeit at a superficial level, and those examples of Ottoman writing most susceptible to analysis by alien criteria. If the Western model cannot be applied (as in the case of prosody), he rejects it, falling back on the traditional approach, while the examples are, as one would expect in such a work, chosen to fit the theory. Although selected from the corpus of Ottoman literature — here the term is to be understood in its widest sense, as some examples are taken from the existing translations out of French — they cannot be considered representative.

The first volume of the Mebāni 'l-İnşā is divided into seven faṣls and these are followed by the first of two makāles, the second of which comprises most of the second volume. Towards the end of the latter the author reproduces some texts intended to inspire the student with new ideals and standards in prose composition. The whole work possesses, superficially, a logical unity, progressing from the definition of kelime and kelām (faṣl-i evvel, vol. I, p. 7) to the qualities of speech, both general and particular (faṣl-i sānī, p. 16), and the pre-requisites of speech (faṣl-i sālis, p. 42). The classical science of beyān is the subject of the fourth faṣl (p. 53), while composition is dealt with in the next three; the fifth faṣl (p. 72) is devoted to the art of persuasion, both by oration and essay; the sixth (p. 139) to various styles of writing, and the seventh (p. 160) to epistolography. There now follows the two makāles, the first devoted to those figures of bedī' classified as lafziye (p. 170) and the second in volume two (II, p. 2), to the ma'neviye. Süleymān Paşa completes his presentation with the classical description of rhyme, meter and poetic form (II, pp. 96-133). As an appendix to the second volume (II, p. 134) we have prose passages by Okçızāde, 'Ākif Paşa and Nāmık Kemāl and several excerpts from the translation of Télémaque, followed by a few pages of definitions of Arabic words (II, p. 262), and some Arabic proverbs (II, p. 276).

Süleymān Paşa attempts to present European criteria of literary criticism within the broader framework of the classical description. Relying on the Menāzırü 'l-İnşā of H<sup>V</sup>āce-i Cihān and the Meşelü 's-Sā'ir of Ziyā'eddīn b. el-Eşīr as his guides to the traditional theory, he provides a fairly lucid exposition of the sciences of belāğa, 'arūż and kāfiye. Into this he interpolated a European approach inspired by Lefranc, the result being that the two systems are ill-suited, the Western theory failing to blend with the traditional presentation. Nevertheless, it is immediately apparent to the reader that an alien view of literature has been introduced.

The qualities of speech, the subject of the second faṣl, may, to a certain extent, be intelligible to an Ottoman student, as yet unexposed to European literary analysis, but the material contained in the fifth certainly will not. There the Western tradition of forensic rhetoric, developed in the courtrooms of the Ancient World is, together with other modes of speech-making, presented as a subject for study by members of a society to which no opportunity for public speaking had yet been afforded. It must, however, be mentioned again, in this context, that Süleymān Paşa was instrumental in introducing the constitution of 1876, so that this section may indeed represent a political ideal. The fact that he translates the French "éloquence" as "feṣāḥat", can only lead to even greater confusion.



Both Cevdet Paşa and Kemāl were to severely criticise the Mebāni 'l-İnşā. Cevdet, ever wary of foreign influence, disliked the introduction of elements which did not belong to the 'ilm-i belāğat. He also found fault with the choice of examples, in particular, a memorandum by 'Alī Paşa which far from being a fine example of prose, was on the contrary one of his worst pieces of composition. So dissatisfied was Cevdet that he wrote a critique which he entitled the Ta'dīl-i Mebāni 'l-İnşā, a review which was, however, to remain unpublished.<sup>1</sup>

Kemāl's reaction was predictable: "Paşam Efendim," he wrote, "Mebāni 'l-İnşālar geldi, büyük teşekkürler ederim, okutmağa başladım. Bir hayli muâhazâtım var. . . Husûsiyle misal sûretinde intihâb olunan beyitleri beğenmiyorum. . ." <sup>2</sup>

Despite its numerous faults, the work was popular enough to run into a second edition, but whether this was due to its own intrinsic merit, or to the demands of the students, for whom it was prescribed reading, cannot be determined. Although Süleymān Paşa failed in his attempt

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1 Tezâkir, IV, 118. See also Tezâkir, IV, 150-151 for Cevdet's criticism of Süleymān Paşa's Ta'rîh-i 'Âlem.

2 Namık Kemal'in Mektupları, I, 357. Editor's transcription.

to introduce new standards of criticism, this failure lies not in his conception of what Ottoman literature should be, but rather in his adherence to the belief that Western and Eastern theories could combine harmoniously. Though he did not attain his ideal, he did, however, pass the torch of his zeal to a young scholar who was able to produce, from exactly the same materials, a work which was to leave a lasting impression on Ottoman literature. The Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt of Recā'izāde Maḥmūd Ekrem achieved that goal which Sūleymān Paşa had set himself however short he was to fall in its realisation.

Recā'izāde Maḥmūd Ekrem wrote the Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt in order to identify and discuss the aesthetic qualities which distinguish literature from mere writing together with those features of literature which are worthy of emulation. He recognised that some of these were created by the aesthetic element and have become principles of the Ottoman language, a collection of which could form a rhetoric for the Ottoman language (bir belāğat-i 'Osmāniye). When he began writing the Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt no such work of compilation existed, but by the time of going to press, Cevdet Paşa's work had been announced and was noted by Ekrem in the introduction to his own book. However, it is clear that he does not see any of his own work as

being made redundant by the appearance of the Belāġat-i 'Osmānīye, believing that which he engaged upon to be much more than a treatment of classical rhetorical theory.<sup>1</sup>

Although the Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt departs from the classical Islamic approach to rhetoric and adopts ideas which differ radically from those found in the rhetorical system of the 'ilm-i belāġa, its author is careful to preserve some of the features of the classical system, so as to present new ideas within a framework which would be familiar to the reader. Adopting divisions similar to those of the 'ilm-i belāġa, its first fasl deals with ideas, the second with style and the third and fourth with figures of speech, superseding the traditional division into me'ānī, beyān and bedī'. Ekrem, however, subtly

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1 See footnote to page 13 of the Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt. In fact two works, which could have possibly been described as works of Ottoman rhetoric, had already been published, namely the Belāġat-i Lisān-ı 'Osmānī (1876) by Ahmed Hamdī, and the Zübdetü 'l-Beyān (1877) by Miḥalicī Hāccī Muṣṭafā Ef. The fact that Ekrem should overlook these works and credit Cevdet Paşa with the authorship of the first Ottoman rhetoric is perhaps due more to the Paşa's position of influence, rather than the intrinsic merit of this book over its two antecedents. It is fairly certain however that Ekrem had little sympathy with the traditional approach adopted by all three works.

implies a link with the classical rhetorical framework by giving titles for his chapters which suggest a fresh approach to the old system rather than a radical departure from it. Thus the whole work, which he envisaged as the first part of a two volume work, is entitled "Kism-i Evvel: Me'ānī ve yāḥūd Fikr, Lafz ve yā ḥūd Uşlûb", the chapters are subsequently titled (1) "Kuvā-yı Zihnīyeniñ Edebīyātda Fi'li", (2) "Kavānīn-i Uşlûb", (3) "Tezyīnāt-ı Uşlûb — Envā'-i Mecāz" and (4) "Şanā'i'-i Lafzīye". These divisions suggest that the discussion of ideas has superseded me'ānī, that is the discussion of semantics in the classical system; beyān has been replaced by "uşlûb", and bedī' has been divided into two sections, the first of which deals with the topics properly belonging to beyān and some of the figures of bedī', while the second only with those tropes classified by Islamic rhetoricians as the şanā'i'-i lafzīye. Ekrem has thus abandoned the discussion of semantics, the me'ānī of the 'ilm-i belāğa, and replaced it by discussion of ideas. He has also dismantled the somewhat artificial distinction between the figures of beyān and bedī' and reinforced the division between figures of thought and figures of speech by placing the former in the same chapter as the metaphor and simile, and dealing with the latter in a separate chapter.

The work in fact combines two traditions of literary theory: the European, as set forth by Émile Lefranc in

Traité théorique et pratique de littérature: style et composition<sup>1</sup>; and the Islamic, as formulated in the Telhîs. Although he fails to acknowledge his debt to Lefranc, there can be no doubt that he is heavily dependent on him for many of the ideas that do not develop from traditional Islamic theory. In particular, Ekrem's organisation of his material into Ideas, Style and Figures of Speech mirror Lefranc's presentation.<sup>2</sup>

Émile Lefranc himself reflects the ideas of Buffon, the Eighteenth Century natural historian, best known amongst stylists for his short speech delivered before the French Academy in 1753, in which he made the remark ". . . le style est l'homme même". The thesis of this discourse held that good style amounted to little more than good thinking; if the sentiment be noble the style too will be noble, if the idea be well thought out, then the style of its presentation will be effective.<sup>3</sup> Lefranc

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1 Page references to this work are to the edition of 1880.

2 Ekrem was familiar with French literature as well as his own, having translated many French works into Ottoman. For a bibliography of his translations see Z. Kermān, "Recaizade Ekrem'in Batı Edebiyatından Yapmış Olduğu Tercümeler", Atatürk Üniversitesi, Edebiyât Fakültesi Araştırma Dergisi, 11/2 (1979), pp. 443-450.

3 Buffon, Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de, Oevres complètes: théorie de la terre, Vol. 1 (Paris, 1874), cxlix-clx.

however, could do no justice to such a simple observation, for he had set himself the task of producing a text-book of literary theory suitable for students. He therefore compromised, and applied some of the methodology employed by stylists to the treatment of ideas, identifying and classifying certain qualities by which they were characterised.

This discussion, although presented as the first of the two parts into which the work is divided, consists of a mere fifteen pages, and is, in fact, no more than an introduction to the proper subject of the work. Part Two is divided into four chapters, of which the first is a general introduction, consisting of only eighteen pages, while chapter four is devoted to composition. It is the second and third chapters which serve as a model for the Ta'lim-i Edebīyāt, the second treating of the qualities of style, both general and particular, the third with figures of speech and figures of thought. The distinction between these two chapters is one of methodology, the former identifies the adherent characteristics of style, the latter analyses the mechanism of its constituent parts. Ekrem, steeped in the tradition of Islamic literary theory, must have been struck most by two aspects of the European treatment. Firstly the division, albeit notionally, of the work into the treatment of ideas and style was, for him, a revolutionary approach to stylistic analysis, traditional Islamic rhetoric being concerned, in the main,

with expression and its analysis, with virtually little or no consideration of ideas per se. Belāḡa was concerned with concepts only in terms of their expression, their quality or character being of little import. Secondly, the method of treating style by enumerating its attributes contrasted with the Islamic practice of analysis of component features. While Islamic rhetoric was concerned with the mechanism of language, as a means of communication, Lefranc's exposition provided a framework in which style could be analysed by the twin methods of identification of adherent characteristics, and analysis of its inherent mechanism.<sup>1</sup>

Ekrem therefore took, as his model, the first part of the Traité and the second and third chapters of Part Two. Having been particularly inspired by the consideration of ideas per se, he must have been disappointed by their rather cursory treatment by Lefranc. He was able to rectify this shortcoming by taking the characteristics of style enumerated in the treaty and applying them to ideas. The

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1 The distinction drawn between adherent and inherent characteristics is based on two differing methods of analysis. The adherent characteristics encompass such phenomena as narrative pace, simplicity and sublimity, imagination etc. The inherent include metaphor and the other figures of speech.

tripartite division of the Ta'lim-i Edebîyât therefore comprises (1) a discussion of ideas, in terms of those characteristics used by Lefranc in his analysis of style, (2) a treatment of style by European criteria, and (3) a treatise on the traditional science of beyân and bedî'. Such a revolutionary approach moved E. J. W. Gibb to comment:

"But now, so far as Turkey is concerned, this old Eastern art is a thing of the past. Its knell was sounded when in 1299 (1881-2) Ekrem Bey published his Ta'lim-i Edebîyât or 'Lessons in Composition.' In that admirable work where for the first time the canons of Western literary taste were systematically placed before the Turkish student, the entire rhetorical system is revolutionised. The old divisions of Ma'anî, Beyân and Bedî' are abolished and nine tenths of the figures we have been considering are swept away as incompatible with earnestness and sincerity in modern times."<sup>1</sup>

The Ta'lim-i Edebîyât was written with a view to providing a text-book for students of literature in the Mekteb-i Mülkiye-i Şāhāne, where Ekrem was teaching. He had begun the work some years previous to its date of

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1 History of Ottoman Poetry, Vol. I (London, 1900), 124.



publication and in 1296/1878 had it lithographed for distribution to his students. Thereafter, it was reproduced in lithograph every year and distributed in sections, many of which not only contained errors but often reached the students several days late. Finding these conditions intolerable and aware that there was a demand for such a book outside the school, Ekrem undertook to publish the work which finally emerged in print in 1299/1881.<sup>1</sup>

On page two of the book the author briefly states the aims of the book, which he presents as the first of two volumes which would cover two years of study. The first year would be engaged in the study of the material in the first volume, and it was hoped that from it the student would acquire an appreciation of the accepted styles of the Ottoman language and the principles underlying their use. It was the declared intention of the author that the student should familiarise himself with the rules of prosody and should learn some of the more important metres. One presumes that these were to be taught in class, for prosody is not treated in the book. The passages, particularly those in verse, were to serve as texts which

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1 A second edition was published in 1330/1911; but as the pagination remains the same, references to the text refer equally to both editions. The printed edition does not in fact differ significantly from the lithograph.

could be committed to memory by the students, thus allowing them to become acquainted with those works upon which the author drew for his illustrations. In short, the student would be allowed to gain an elementary knowledge of Ottoman literature and its writers.

The first indication that the work would depart from the well-worn paths of classical literary theory appears in the preface, which is addressed not so much to the students but to the general public. Although he concedes that the faults which might be found in the work arise from his lack of ability, he suggests, too, that they might in some part be due to the pioneering nature of the work (*eserîñ yekiligi*), and he hopes that it will be considered worthy of study and criticism by those scholars who were public spirited and partisans of progress. The inescapable implication is that Ekrem is not in the least interested in the criticism of men who were not "partisans of progress". In the introduction he acknowledges his debt to French sources, borrowing ideas from them which he found of relevance to Ottoman literary theory (pp. 4-5). He does not, however, own the particular debt he owes to Lefranc, and one cannot fail to suppose that he was aware of the extent to which his indebtedness would be exposed were a comparison between the two to be made, yet one cannot really regard this as intellectual dishonesty, for the very fact that he was able to appreciate the quality of such a work is in itself commendable in an Ottoman of his

background, and, moreover, there were sections of the society in which he lived who would have rejected out of hand what he had to present, if it were given a specific European identification.

The title of the work itself declares it to be a course in literature, and the title page displays a quotation from Nāmık Kemāl to the effect that literature is the tongue of the nation and the means of propagating education (edeb) within it. It is therefore appropriate that the introduction to the work should dwell on the problem of defining "edebīyāt". In Nineteenth Century Turkey the term "edebīyāt" was a neologism, introduced by Kemāl to translate the European concept of "literature". Although the word was familiar enough in Ekrem's time, its precise meaning had been the subject of dispute among the Ottoman literati for some fifteen years preceding the publication of the Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt. Its author claims to be the first to define it (p. 11).

Two definitions of literature are offered the first of which includes all written works, which is to say the schriftum of the language. This is rejected as being too comprehensive in that it would include such materials as advertisements, trademen's accounts and other uses of writing which would clearly not find general acceptance as of literary quality. Ekrem suggests that literature must be born from good taste, feeling and imagination (zevk ve hiss ve hayāl), and offers a definition:

"Eñ meşhūr erbāb-ı kalemîñ eñ mûntaḥab  
eñ maḳbūl eᡣerlerinden istinbāt ve aḥz  
olınan uşūl-ū-emᡣālîñ ma'rifetidir." (pp. 11-12)

These words echo Lefranc's formulation:

"La Littérature est la connaissance des  
Belles-Lettres, ou des modèles qui se  
trouvent dans les auteurs, soit anciens,  
soit modernes. Elle comprend ainsi les  
vers et la prose, la poésie et l'éloquence,  
c'est-à-dire, tous les genres de composition  
littéraire, la théorie qui en fixe les règles,  
et la pratique qui en offre l'exécution." (p. 11)

Although Ekrem's definition would seem to suggest that knowledge of literary theory and practice, rather than works which employ them, constitute literature, the author probably wishes to stress not the word "ma'rifet", but rather "eñ meşhūr", "eñ mûntaḥab" and "eñ maḳbūl", thus confining literature to those works which find acceptance. In order to be found worthy of inclusion within the body of literature, a work must fulfill certain conditions: prose writing must observe the general rules of the language and the laws of logic, and it must have aesthetic awareness (zevk-i vicdānî) and euphony (āheng-i selāset); verse must, in addition, follow the rules of prosody. The aim of the Ta'līm-i Edebîyāt is to discover and elucidate

the two features which Ekrem has identified as aesthetic awareness and euphony, for it is these that distinguish literature from mere writing.

Ekrem makes no attempt, however, to relate aesthetic function and stylistic refinement to the crude distinction he proposes between literary and non-literary writing. What he offers as a definition (ta'rīf) is really no more than a partial description of literature, in which he merely alludes to some of those elements which would constitute a definition.

The word "edebīyāt" was coined by Nāmık Kemāl to express a concept which did not exist in classical Islamic culture. The German word "Schrifttum", signifying all writing regardless of aesthetic quality, describes the classical Ottoman "literary" corpus rather better than the word "literature".<sup>1</sup> Certain genres within the body of Ottoman Schrifttum manifest more pronounced literary qualities than others, so that taken as a whole it is possible to distinguish gradations in the aesthetic impressions they leave. While the word "edebīyāt" had been intended to cover those genres which would have been

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1 A. Bombaci creates this distinction between edebīyāt (literature) and schrifttum in reference to Ottoman literature, Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta, vol. II (Weisbaden, 1964), p. xi.

considered littérature in France, to the mind of the traditional Ottoman the word would have suggested the attributes of the "edīb", that is, the well-mannered, cultured and virtuous man, and only in a secondary sense, the writer.

"Edeb" signified not only culture and refinement, but was also used for that class of Arabic writing which corresponded, in general, to belles-lettres. "Edebīyāt" was envisaged as an extension of this genre, covering all writing which was intended to move the human spirit. Ekrem might well have given a definition of edebīyāt on the basis of its etymology as those writings which express the qualities that go towards the "edīb", that is to say, the cultured man. Such a definition would be no more circular than the one he offers, and would reflect the ideas of Alphonse de Lamartine, who saw literature as encompassing "la religion, la morale, la philosophie, la législation, la politique, l'histoire, la science, l'éloquence, la poésie, c'est-à-dire tout ce qui sanctifie, tout ce qui civilise, tout ce qui gouverne, tout ce qui perpétue, tout ce qui charme le genre humain".<sup>1</sup>

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1 Cited by Mary Stanley Hinrichs in her study, Le cours familier de littérature de Lamartine (Paris, 1930), p. 5.

However, at the time when the Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt was being written, the educated elite of Ottoman society were drifting inexorably into two divergent currents: while traditionalists held fast to the old values like men drowning in a torrent of new ideas, the modernists willingly allowed themselves to be carried along, with hardly a thought to the direction in which they were being taken. It is quite clear that any description of literature which employs the expression "the most accepted works" will inevitably raise the question "accepted by whom?". It was not even possible to suggest that the arbiters of literature should be the most cultured in society, for cultural values, too, had not escaped the divisive trends of the Tanzimat. Any definition would have to transcend the postures of the various factions. Ekrem approaches the solution when he identifies two basic elements of literature, the "zevk-i vicdānī" and the "āheng-i selāset", but this hardly provides a definitive statement.

Ekrem's definition fails in another respect: by restricting literature to only those works which are "accepted", he precludes the possibility of bad literature, thereby rejecting the writer's intention as a criterion upon which a judgement may be made as to whether a work is worthy of inclusion within the body of literature. It is clear that a poem which is intended primarily to entertain is literature, no matter how debased its aesthetic awareness or how faulty its style. It is, in other words, bad literature.

Although he certainly recognised the importance of the aesthetic function and good style, he failed to formulate a definition which would suggest the central role they play in distinguishing genres which are literary from those that are not. To include the writer within the scope of the definition, and thereby allow for the possibility of bad literature, "edebīyāt" may tentatively be defined as writing in which the author allows the aesthetic function to dominate, intending to produce a reaction from the reader, beyond the immediate implication of the statement.

With this definition in mind, all writing in which the aesthetic function does not dominate can be dismissed as non-literary. This is not to accept Ekrem's position, which would suggest that the "most accepted" works are those which are literary, for a dominant aesthetic function does not in itself make a work acceptable. While a gazel is a striking example of a literary form where the aesthetic function usually dominates overwhelmingly, the legal necessities of a vakf document, on the other hand, rarely allow it to demonstrate any literary virtuosity on the part of its author. Some genres of Ottoman Schrifttum, history being a prime example, contain works of which some may be said to have a dominant aesthetic function while others are intended primarily as a vehicle of information.



Ekrem begins his course of instruction by treating the problem of the nature of the relationship between ideas and language, offering his opinion without supplying any argument for its validity (p. 15). In his view, thought (ma'nā) precedes its expression (şūret) and, consequently, he absolves himself of weighing the vexed question of primacy between the two. In this one must see not a reluctance to enter into epistemological speculation, but, rather, an adherence to the purpose for which his work was being composed; and one cannot argue against the fact that literature, such as he had already defined it, was the verbal expression of antecedent sentiments or emotions. Having accepted language as being composed of two elements, thought and expression, he devotes his first two chapters to an examination of these. The first is divided into six sections dealing with (1) ideas (efkār), (2) sentiments (ḥissīyāt), (3) aesthetic (ḥüsn-i ṭabī'at), (4) imagination (kuvve-i ḥayālīye), (5) wit (zarāfet yāḥūd nūkte-dānlık) and (6) memory (kuvve-i hafıza).

The qualities that characterise the idea are either intrinsic or incidental, the former being (1) truth (ḥaḳīkat), (2) soundness (selāmet), (3) clarity (vuḏūḥ) and (4) order (intizām), while the latter are as detailed as (a) simplicity (sādelik), (b) ingenuousness (sāde-dilānelik), (c) subtlety (incelik), (d) forcefulness (şiddet), (e) brilliance (parlaklık) and (f) sublimity ('ulvīyet). The intrinsic qualities are those which are

inseparable from the discussion of ideas, while the incidental are those which in some way lend prominence or effectiveness to them. It is arguable that some of the incidental qualities may, also, be considered intrinsic to every expression; for just as it must be sound or true to some degree, so too must it be to some degree sincere, subtle or sublime. However, Ekrem chooses not to argue about — or indeed even explain — the difference between the intrinsic and the incidental qualities.

Ekrem defines truth — he uses "ḥaḳīḳat" as the substantive and "doğru" as the adjective — as the correspondence of the expression with reality. For this he provides two illustrations, the first being Kānūnī Süleymān's famous hemistich (p. 17):

(R 1) Olmaya devlet cihānda bir nefes siḥḥat gibi<sup>1</sup>

This line he holds to express an indisputable truth, for one's ability to fulfill the primary obligation of worshipping God is contingent on good health, and consequently a sound body must be the source of all other forms of happiness. As an example of a statement devoid of truth he quotes a beyt by the poet Nābī (p. 18):

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1 Trans: On earth there be no happiness as great as  
a single moment in good health

(Müc 1) Ğurūr-ı cünbiş-i bukrātıyānesi tursun  
Fakaṭ likāsi ḥekīmüñ marīze şikletdür<sup>1</sup>

This beyt is taken from a gazel in which Nābī is obviously referring to a particular physician who was called in when

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1 Trans: However much he glory in his Hippocratic rôle  
The sight of the physician still dejects the  
patient's soul.

The complete gazel:

Tenüm ki dest-ḥoş-ı pīç-ü-tāb-ı 'illetdür  
Firāş-ı sāḥa-ı germābe-i ḥarāretdür

Ğurūr-ı cünbiş-i bukrātıyānesi tursun  
Fakaṭ likāsi ḥekīmüñ marīze şikletdür

Ne ḥāl ise çekilür vaż'-ı cān-ḥirāş-ı tabīb  
Ol ārzū ile kim 'ākibet selāmetdür

Bir elde kāse-i şerbet bir elde nişter-i faşd  
Nedür bu aḥz-ü-'aṭā bu ne turfe 'ādetdür

Mizāclarda zuhūr-ı 'ilel gehī Nābī  
Lisān-ı ḥāl ile tefhīm-i kadr-i şıḥhatdür.

Dīvān (Ġazel section: Bulak ed., Cairo, 1257/1841), 26.

he was ill; and, by isolating it from its context, Ekrem imputes to it a general meaning which he finds unacceptable to common experience, and, therefore, contrary to truth. Yet, even in isolation, and with some wider implication looked for, it would be perverse to regard a line from a poet such as Nābī as meaning no more than the apparent and prosaic statement. Thus, as well as deriding the pretensions of the physicians of his time, he could be alluding to the inefficacy of their treatment, to their remedies which are often worse than the ailment, or to the fact that they were only called in when the patient is in extremis. In the following beyt, also by Nābī, Ekrem considers the statement devoid of truth:

(H 1) Olur feyż-i tevāzu'la diraht-i pest bār-āver  
 Komişdur meyveden mahrūm servi ser-ferāz olmak<sup>1</sup>

Ekrem makes no attempt to define truth, neither do his illustrations clarify his conceptions, although the elucidation of the second example would suggest that he envisages it as being both universal and scientific. In the first example he presents a syllogism, of which the

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1 Ibid., 126.

Trans: Blest with true humility the low bent tree  
 bears fruit the most;  
 Its very loftiness has left the cypress of  
 no fruit to boast.

major premise is that worship of God is the prime responsibility of man, and the minor premise, that health is a prerequisite for worship. Of these, the first would apply only to Muslims and the second is patently false, for no one could possibly argue that bad health in itself prevents a man from worship. One can only conclude that by truth, Ekrem does not intend only propositions that will stand up to logical analysis. In the second example, however, it seems that the standard by which he evaluates the truth of the statement is based on scientific grounds. When Nābī suggests that the low tree is fruitful with abundant humility, while the cypress is tall but bereft of fruit, Ekrem objects because the cypress like all trees bears fruit, whether it be edible or not. He makes no clear distinction between the language of poetry and the language of science, for fruit in poetry can only refer to the edible variety, no matter how imprecise this may appear to the botanist. If we examine truth in the light of these two examples it would seem that it is neither universal, scientific, nor founded on logic. Neither are we allowed to entertain the possibility that by truth he means artistic truth, that is the conceptual framework within which the writer works, rather than the product of systematic thought.

Soundness (selāmet), the second of the intrinsic qualities pertaining to the idea, is neither adequately defined nor further elucidated by illustrations. The

definition states that an idea is sound if it be completely appropriate to the thing (şey') which it contains, no matter what aspect it be viewed from. From this definition two extrapolations are made, namely, that the soundness in the idea is more beneficial than truth (ḥaḳīkat), and that an idea may be true and yet unsound. The following beyt by Şināsī exemplifies the sound idea (p. 19):

(H2)     Ḥaḳḳ yol aramak vācibedür 'aḳl-i selīme  
            Tevfīḳini isterse Ḥūdā rāhber eyler<sup>1</sup>

The explanation offered is that the idea expressed is sound because the sound mind follows the true path which consists of preoccupation with the constant search for the reality of things, without sparing a thought as to whether this be appropriate or not. The idea devoid of soundness is exemplified in the following beyts of Nef'ī:

(H2)     Bir düş gibidur ḥaḳḳ bu ki ma'nīde bu 'ālem  
            Kim göz yumub açınca zamānı güzzer eyler

---

1     Trans:    To seek the true and righteous path the sound  
                  mind is obliged;  
                  If he desires His guidance, he'll make God  
                  his only guide.

Bir yirde ki ārāma bu miqdār ola mūhlet  
 Erbābı nice kesb-i kemāl-ū-hūner eyler<sup>1</sup>

Ekrem concedes that the idea might be true, it is however unsound, for it does not accord with what is contained within it in all respects. Interpreting "kemāl-ū-hūner" in a rather more particular sense than the general cultural attainment Nābī had in mind, he refutes the notion that perfection may be a quality appropriate to mankind, and its attainment desired by mere mortals. Man, he postulates, is capable of imbibing only enough knowledge to enlighten the human spirit, perfection, however, lies well outwith his reach.

The weakness of Ekrem's definition lies in the use of the word "thing". If by it, he means the content of the idea — and there is no reason to speculate that he intends otherwise — then the definition would be: the idea is sound if it accords with its content in all respects. If we are to understand the relationship between the idea and its content to be based on philosophic truths, which consist of a unity of received ideas founded on logical principles, and religious and cultural values, then the following

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1 Trans: If truth be known, the world is but a dream,  
 It passes in the flicker of an eye.  
 With so scant leisure in one place allowed  
 For what perfection may its creatures then apply?

interpretation may be made: every idea is subject to a multiplicity of laws which govern its relationship with the body of accepted knowledge current at the time, and defiance of any one of these laws would render the idea unsound. Ekrem refers to these laws as aspects (cihet), maintaining that all should be respected in order to present a sound idea.

The difficulty inherent in the above interpretation lies in the lack of a clear distinction drawn between soundness and truth. Ekrem indicates that these are not synonymous by creating separate categories to accommodate each one, and he crudely reinforces this distinction by baldly stating that soundness is more beneficial (müfîd) than truth and that the true idea may nevertheless be unsound. He may consider the first category to include those instances where an idea contains a single obvious truth or alternatively an obvious untruth, while the second category deals with the congruity of the idea to the experience of the reader, which is conditioned by many diverse factors. The statement "pigs can't fly" is recognisable as irrefutable truth, it may however be considered unsound, for the ability to fly is not given to pigs. Thus, whereas it might be considered sound to affirm that ostriches do not fly, for they belong to a genus in which flight is the most identifiable characteristic, to state that a particular member of the genera which constitute the mammals, fish or reptiles, does not fly is



banal and absurd, and would according to Ekrem, be unsound. While it is clear that an unsound idea may nevertheless be true, no attempt has been made to identify the advantages of soundness over truth.

The two examples and explanations of them offered by Ekrem do little to shed light on, or to further develop, his argument. The choice of the illustration of the sound idea seems to have been influenced by the fortuitous occurrence of the phrase "to the sound mind" ('aql-i selīme). The beyt chosen presents a sound idea only to those who share Ekrem's conviction concerning the existence of God and man's relationship to him; an atheist would certainly find the idea extremely unsound. While Ekrem's economic use of words in describing this literary phenomenon renders it no more than a vague notion, he might have restored some measure of integrity to his discussion had he provided more examples, or indeed discussed the illustrative beyts in relationship to each other. It would have been interesting to have noted Ekrem's observations as to the soundness of those beyts which illustrated the true idea. The suspicion must surely remain in the mind of the reader that it is not the example which illustrated the topic of discussion, but rather the explanation of the example.

The third intrinsic quality is clarity (vuḏūh), which renders the idea easily understood, no matter how complex it may be. The examples given, however, are not very

convincing. The first example, a beyt by Şināsī is certainly quite clear (p. 20):

(Müc 1) Ziyā-yı 'aql ile tefrīk-i ḥüsn-ü-kubḥ olunur  
Ki nūr-i mihrdür elvānı eyleyen teşhīr<sup>1</sup>

As an example of the unclear idea he cites a beyt by Rāğīb Paşa:

(R1) Kābil-i jeng olmayan olmaz pezīrā-yı cilā  
İğbirār-ı ḥātır iksīr-i meserretdür baña<sup>2</sup>

This idea is not so complex as to be considered unclear, unless the level of literacy in Ekrem's classroom had reached depths of mediocrity previously unsuspected. The existence of a misprint in the first edition (bezīrā-yı for pezīrā-yı), which is repeated in the second, is intriguing, for one cannot help entertaining the possibility that the description of the beyt as unclear prejudiced many readers against attempting to understand it.

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1 Trans: Good and evil are distinguished by the  
intellect's keen light

Just as the sun's illumining rays discern  
all colours bright

2 Trans: Whatever cannot tarnish one can never burnish  
bright

Vexation and annoyance are to me but pure  
delight

The fourth intrinsic quality, order (intizām), is dismissed in one short sentence: it exists when the truth and the essence and the relationship between them are properly constructed (Efkārıñ intizāmına gelince: bu da ḥaḳīkat ve tabī‘atıñ ve aralarındaki revābıt-u-münāsebātıñ ta‘yīn etdiği tertīb altında bulunmasıyle ḥāşildir). The lack of any illustrations or further explanation renders this passage virtually meaningless.

Leaving aside the intrinsic qualities of the idea, Ekrem now considers the incidental qualities, the first of which is simplicity (sādelik). Its particular virtue is that it will produce in the mind of the reader the idea, the reality being expressed openly with no obstacles placed in the way of its comprehension. Three illustrations are provided; the first, a mısrā‘ by Fuḷūlī; the second, a short passage by Kemāl; and the third, a beyt from Re‘isü ‘l-Küttāb ‘Ārif (p. 21):

(H5) Elbette gider gelen cihāna<sup>1</sup>

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1 Trans: He who comes into this world will certainly  
depart

Dest-i cellād-i ecelden ne cūvān-ı kavī ḥalāş  
 olur ne pīr-i zebūn (İnnā li-'llāhi ve-innā  
ileyh rāci'ūn).<sup>1</sup>

- (R2) 'Ākıbet cūmlemüzüñ menzili ḥāk olsa gerek  
 Kime itmiş bu felek kām-u-merām üzre vefā<sup>2</sup>

While these illustrate simple ideas expressed in  
 exquisite language, one should not, however, consider  
 simple ideas worthless if they be simply expressed. As  
 an example of the latter he cites 'Abdülḥakḥ Ḥāmid (p. 22):

Hep gördüğümüz gibi yazmakda ne terakkī  
 olabilir? Bir az da düşündüğümüz gibi yazmalıyız.  
 İnsān hemān görmege degil göstermege de  
 müsta'iddir.<sup>3</sup>

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1 Trans: Neither the strong youth nor the weak old man  
 is safe from the hand of the executioner of  
 destiny (For we belong to God and unto him  
 we return).

2 Trans: The earth's our final residence t'is there  
 we'll all retire;  
 To whom has destiny played fair, as was his  
 fond desire?

3 Trans: What is there in writing just as we observe?  
 We should to some degree write as we think.  
 Man is not only capable of seeing but also  
 of demonstrating.

The definition would seem at a glance to be fairly satisfactory, but it, too, does not bear close scrutiny. The weakness in it stems from the lack of any contrast with the intrinsic quality of clarity, the definition of which does not differ from it in essence. Both are characterised by the facility with which the idea may be comprehended, the only discernible difference may be deduced from the qualification to the quality of clarity, to the effect that the clear idea may be complex. The real difficulty lies in the choice of illustrations, which serve only to obfuscate the argument, for they could equally appropriately have been cited as examples of the qualities of truth, soundness or clarity. The last example in particular does not seem to be striking in its simplicity. The idea is clear enough but the implications of the statement are profound.

Ingenuousness (*sāde-dilānelik*), the second of the incidental qualities of the idea, allows the writer to criticise and attack, while apparently merely relating an incident. The criticism, the true purpose of the writer, will appear as incidental and secondary to the narrative aim. This quality is illustrated by the well known dialogue from Fuḫūlī's Şikāyet-name, where he describes a frustrating encounter with bureaucracy, in which he attempts to validate a certificate for a pension, given to him in recognition of his merit, only to discover that the officials in charge were determined to avoid handing

over the money. The quality of ingenuousness is manifested in the dialogue in which Fuḡūlī tries to remonstrate with the officials and is met by the insurmountable barrier of bemused indifference on the part of the corrupt officials, completely confident in their own immunity from the law. The writer portrays himself as the victim of a callous bureaucracy at the hands of which he is humiliated and deprived of his rights, all within the context of a theme depicting the adversity of fate. The true purpose, Ekrem implies, is criticism and reproach, rather than the mere account of the frustration he experienced.

Once again it is to the example, rather than the definition itself, which the reader must have recourse to understand the matter under discussion. The illustrative passage is appropriate enough, although in one respect it does not accord completely with the definition. The section quoted, which consists of about a sixth of the whole letter, by being divorced from its context, leaves too strong an impression of the circumstances which prompted its composition. While no reader could possibly mistake Fuḡūlī's attitude to these men, and while there is no reason to suppose that he intended anything other than their condemnation, Ekrem should have provided an illustration in which the criticism was not so direct; for the reader unfamiliar with this letter may be forgiven for presuming that the primary intention of the author was an attack on the corrupt bureaucrats. However, the passage

is so well known and universally admired that we may presume that all his readers were in fact familiar with the context (pp. 22-23).

The third incidental quality is subtlety (*incelik*), by which the writer presents an idea which contains a meaning additional to the one immediately apparent. Three examples are given, the first of which is taken from the Evrāk-i Perişān of Nāmık Kemāl, in which Mehmed II is accosted by a dervish while hunting. The dervish asks for half of Mehmed's wealth, on the basis of their brotherhood in Islam. Mehmed's reply, "Hele şu bir akçeyi al, git; öteki kardeşlerümüz duyarsa, hışsaña o kadar işābet itmez", is an example of subtlety. Although Ekrem does not explain the levels of meaning it is clear that it is the idea rather than the words themselves which admit of a deeper interpretation. Brotherhood as a concept in Islam, pertains to the spiritual relationship among Muslims, and is to be interpreted on the level of familial obligation; the distinction here being made between "*uhuvvet*", the abstraction, and "*kardeşlik*", the actual.

Having defined and illustrated this quality Ekrem proceeds to qualify it by stating that it is not peculiar to intelligence or wit, but may also appeal to the heart, the latter type being preferred. Whether subtlety is within the realms of the intellect or the heart, it remains an innate virtue, which cannot be acquired through study.

A further illustration is provided in 'Abdülhaḳk Ḥamid's mısrā', which Ekrem considered one of the most beautiful instances of the use of subtlety (p. 23):

Haḳāret redd olunur muhayyerdūr<sup>1</sup>

The most probable meaning is that one should not respond in kind to abuse, although "redd" can mean both "reject" or "return", and the position of "muhayyer" gives prominence to the choice which must be made between these two meanings.

A third illustration is provided in the story which relates Fu'ād Paşa's growing irritation with a political opponent who continually attacked him from behind the banner of liberalism. Fu'ād Paşa, conceding his opponent's merits but nevertheless wishing him dead, is alleged to have uttered "Fulānı aşmal ı da soñra da altına gidüb ağlamalı". Translated as "They should hang so-and-so, and then weep over him", the implication of the remark is that lofty motives do not exempt one from proper or polite behaviour.

Forcefulness (şiddet), the fourth incidental quality, serves to affirm the importance of the idea, thus making a greater impression on the mind, and often producing

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1 Trans: An insult is an option to be rejected.



noble sentiments in the hearts of the readers. Two examples are given, the first consists of words attributed to Selīm I, who while gazing upon a map of the world was reported to have said: "The world is not so vast as to satisfy a Sultan". The second is taken from the plot of Vaṭan yāḥōd Silestre of Nāmık Kemāl, in which an officer, having appealed for a volunteer to blow up the enemy ammunition depot, and having found one asks him whether he is capable of setting it on fire, eliciting the reply: " I can set it alight, even if I have to sit on it to do so" (pp. 24-25).

Brilliance (parlaklık), the fifth incidental quality, gives to ideas elegance, loftiness and imagery, forming brilliant concepts in the mind of the reader. Ekrem, reminding the reader that the topic under discussion is ideas rather than style, emphasises that brilliance is found not only in the meaning, that is the idea itself, but also in the expression of the idea, that is the style in which it is written. Style and meaning are inseparable in their contribution to the brilliance of the idea. He illustrates this quality with a passage from Nāmık Kemāl, in which the author conjures up image upon image to evoke the feeling of wonderment which gripped him as he beheld the sun rising over the landscape. A further example consists of beyts taken from Nedīm's Megnevī describing the Bāğ-ı Vefā of Kapudan Muṣṭafā Paşa. Each of the beyts is marked by its vivid use of imagery (p. 21).

Ekrem has quite correctly drawn the reader's attention to the fact that impressive imagery cannot be dismissed as belonging purely to the realms of style, for the image evoked is as much dependent on the idea as its expression. What he has failed to do, however, is justify the special treatment of the idea which evokes brilliance, and the neglect of, let us say, the idea which evokes the grotesque, the bloody, the heavenly, or the soothing. The examples would suggest that the brilliant idea exploits brilliant imagery, that is, the bright sun, the luminous moon, sparkling jewels, scintillating water, gleaming marble and glittering stars. Brilliance, as a quality of the idea, seems to have no wider application, encompassing only that imagery which is connected with luminosity. However illogical the proposition may seem, Ekrem seems to consider scintillating tinsel and like imagery of such particular virtue as to merit special mention.

The sixth and final incidental quality is sublimity ('ulvīyet), which is peculiar to the loftiest, the greatest and the most inspiring ideas, holding spiritual concepts like divinity, religious experience and love of one's homeland. The examples are taken from the Taẓarru'āt of Sinān Paşa, a work consisting of religious and moral reflections, from an unidentified prose passage by Sāmī Paşa, and from two poems by Şināsī and Rousseau respectively. The first three examples all consist of affirmations of the existence of God. The quality of sublimity, as evinced

by the illustrations, lies in the magnificence of the truth expressed in them, and because the greatest truth is the existence of God, any assertion thereof is to be considered sublime. As each of these three illustrative passages is taken from the literary stock of Islamic pious and devotional writing, Ekrem chooses a poem by Jean Jacques Rousseau, translated by Pertev Paşa, presumably to demonstrate that the quality of sublimity is not restricted to the writings of Muslims. The poem by Rousseau, himself a sentimental deist, consists of a statement of the transient nature of our worldly existence (pp. 27-30).

Concluding his discussion of the qualities pertaining to the idea, Ekrem sums up by admitting that he has not identified all discernible types of ideas, but he nevertheless assures his readers that he has touched upon their main characteristics. He adds one further observation: these qualities are of value only if they are appropriate to the subject under discussion. The best guide to their use is the aesthetic awareness (*zevk-i vicdānī*) and intelligence of the writer.

Although Ekrem has successfully proposed a theoretical framework within which one may characterise ideas, the impression is given that no matter how valid this may be for Ottoman literature, it required an effort of interpretation to make it apply. This may be due to his failure

to search out the convincing illustration, for when the definition is weak, the reader will invariably depend upon the example cited in order to understand the proposition. This, in fact, would frequently seem to be the author's intention, for he uses the exemplary passages as integral parts of the discussion, sometimes interposing observations amongst the illustrations. The instances are not few when he defines the proposition, illustrates it, modifies the definition, provides a further illustration and concludes by adding some further remarks. This approach can only be as valid as the illustrations themselves, which are often an integral part of the theoretical discussion. Unfortunately they are all too often weak, so much so, that many of the examples could equally well, if not better illustrate other characteristics. One should not, of course, be too critical of such weaknesses and incongruities, for it is in the nature of pioneering works such as this to be slavishly dependent on alien ideas, and less than totally convincing in their attempt to reconcile two different traditions.

Proceeding to the second section of the first chapter (İkinci Mebhas, Birinci Fasıl), Ekrem deals with emotion as a factor in literature. He conceives of emotions as inherent elements, functioning at a level between ideas, whence they emanate, and style, upon which they bear influence. He first postulates that what can be perceived must also be capable of being emotive, but later seems to

contradict himself when he suggests that a work dealing with the sciences may be devoid of emotion, a statement which he qualifies by dismissing such works as of a non-literary nature. In lieu of a definition of emotion, he describes some of the more common types of emotive reaction: joy, sadness, inclination, aversion, love and hatred, all of which can be categorised on the basis of their type and strength: they may engender sympathy or antipathy, they may be moderate or impassioned. He resorts to metaphor in describing the moderate emotion as a bright quality which bathes the heart in light, while the passions are lofty and set the heart aflame. As illustrations of literature exploiting these emotions, he cites the Leylī-Nāme of Fuẓūlī and Kemāl's Zavallı Çocuk, examples of the moderately emotive, and Kemāl's Vatan yāhōd Silestre and Şeyh Gālib's Hüsn-ü-'İşk, the impassioned.

He justifies the intrusion of emotion into literature on the grounds that just as the propagation of truth by reasoning is laudatory and valuable, so too will the use of emotions for this end be good. In this process, it is the role of the intellect to prepare the reader, and to the emotions falls the task of actually winning him over to the writer's point of view. The emotions are not only a means of persuading the reader, but also serve a higher moral purpose; for Ekrem holds that it is not sufficient that the writer distinguish the good from the evil, he must also be prepared to influence the reader to desire the one and detest the other.

Ekrem implies that emotion is inherent in all literary works, a view which does not stand up to close scrutiny. An emotion is, at least according to his description of its salient features, that part of the reader's reaction to the work which may be characterised as non-intellectual. Many literary works, it could well be argued, do not evoke an emotional reaction. The crux of the argument lies in the problem of deciding the nature of emotional response. Is the smile on the face of the reader who has just read a particularly satisfying beyt, an emotional or intellectual response; or to use Ekrem's terminology, is it "kalben" or "aklen"? The problem is, of course, insoluble, and this probably accounts for his avoidance of this question (pp. 31-33).

Emotions, like ideas, are discussed by Ekrem in terms of their attributes. They are marked both by intrinsic and incidental qualities, the former consisting of the true, and the natural emotion, corresponding to the "fikir-i hakikî" and "fikir-i selîm" of the previous section. Given that these two qualities exist in all emotions, they may be further characterised by certain attributes of which the four most prominent are (1) the sincere (sâde-dilâne), (2) the tender (rakîk), (3) the stirring (mûheyyc) and (4) the sublime ('âlî) emotion.

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The true emotion comes from the heart and must be entirely free from artificiality or contrivance. The

illustration is a mergiye composed by Ebü 's-Su'ūd Efendi on the death of his child. It is appropriately chosen, for here is an elegy that avoids the contrived expressions of bereavement and expresses sorrow forcefully without resort to hyperbole; the second beyt in particular rings true (p. 34):

(Müc 1) Seni bekāda koyub ben fenā bulam dirdüm  
Vücūd bulmadı endīşe-i muhālüm, gel!<sup>1</sup>

Ekrem further observes that no writer can excite in his readers emotions which he has not experienced himself. Although this point is made subsequent to the illustration, it would seem to be a continuation of the discussion, inserted as an after-thought, rather than a reflection on the illustrative poem.

The second intrinsic quality of emotion is naturalness. A natural emotion must not exceed sensible bounds, the emotive response being in proportion to the stimulus. The illustrative passage is a portion of a mergiye by Fuẓūlī to the memory of Hüseyn, the grandson of the Prophet. In

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1 Trans: Methought when I laid thee to rest that my  
life would vanish away  
But alack! it is come not to pass, that  
fancy unright, O come.

Gibb, H . O. P., III, 116.



this poem the author bitterly reproaches the Sphere, which represents Fortune, for having schemed the murder of Hüseyin.

As the brief description of these qualities has given the reader only a perfunctory idea of their nature, Ekrem interposes a parenthetical discussion (*istıtrād*) in which he reiterates the salient features of these two qualities, and compares them to one another. He maintains that a true emotion must also be natural, otherwise it will have no efficacy; as an example of failure in this respect he cites the words of a mother, who upon losing her child, cries out: "My poor lamb; would that the world had been destroyed rather than you should have died! Fate has left untouched, mothers with three or four children, and yet has taken from me my only child." No matter how true this sentiment may be, it is nevertheless irrational and therefore unacceptable. The aim of literature being to influence the reader, the writer is obliged to express true emotions rationally, and this may be achieved by observation of the conditions which ensure that the emotion is natural. An example of false and inappropriate emotion is given in an elegy by Faḡlī (d. 1562), in which the poet calls upon each of the elements in the heavens to adopt a posture of mourning: the sun extinguished, the stars scattered, the clouds weeping rain, thunder moaning, and the night enwrapped in a cloak of bereavement (pp. 35-38).

True emotion could have been more simply defined as that which is genuinely felt by the writer. Fażlī's elegy is dismissed, presumably because the appeal to the elements to imitate human behaviour does not express his true feelings. Fużūlī's anger at fate for scheming the death of Hüseyn, on the other hand, is felt to reflect true and natural emotion. For natural emotion, however, no simple definition is offered; it would seem that its most salient feature is its ability to move the reader, which is the true purpose of emotive language. This is achieved by evincing the emotional reaction which will appear most appropriate to the reader in a given situation. Ekrem probably objects to the bereaved mother's wish that the world would come to an end on the grounds that her emotional reaction is exaggerated. It would have been more appropriate for her to have wished the child never to have been born, or even that her own life should be taken away, rather than to yearn for the end of all existence.

Of the numerous incidental emotions Ekrem chooses to dwell on, there are four which he considers most worthy of note. The first is innocence, which is briefly defined as that emotion in which can be found sincerity, informality, and those qualities peculiar to children. The examples are taken from a dialogue in Zavallı Çocuk, a play by Kemāl, in which a young lady, Şefika, declares her love for her sweetheart. The theme of the play is based on the conflict between the generations around the question of

whether the parents or the children should arrange a marriage, whether, in other words, true love or tradition should be the dominant consideration in matrimony. Şefika reveals her love in a frank and direct manner which must have struck all the audience as extremely sincere; the more traditionally minded readers would no doubt have been shocked. The second example, taken from 'Abdülhaḳk Hāmid's Nesteren consists of exactly the same type of theatrical encounter, this time between Hüsrev and the eponymous heroine (p. 38):

Hüsrev: (H 3) Melekseñ, burası senüñ ocağñ

Nesteren: Meleksem, cennetüm senüñ kucağñ<sup>1</sup>

Tenderness is characterised as that quality which fills the heart with fondness and affection. It is likened to the effect of a light breeze upon the leaves of a tree causing them to tremble with delight. The examples consist of three poems, by Kemāl, 'Abdülhaḳk Hāmid and Refiḳ Bey respectively. The first of these evocatively describes a rose which gently penetrates the author's consciousness, only at the end of the poem is he aware that he is perceiving his motherland. The second

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1 Trans: Hüsrev: Were thou an angel this abode  
would be your hearth

Nesteren: Rather, your arms would be my own  
celestial garth

is somewhat similar, in that the author is haunted by visions of his beloved which gently intrude into his awareness. The third emotion is one of sympathy, which the author feels for the nightingale which will not sing; the writer ponders on the reason for its silence and attributes various causes to it (pp. 38-40).

The stirring (müheyyic) emotions, on the other hand, move the reader either to excitement or to sorrow, and are likened to sudden petulant spring storms. Three examples are given, the first an epitaph for a girl, the second 'Ākif Paşa's (d. 1848) famous elegy for his granddaughter and thirdly, a passage from 'Abdülhak̤k Hāmid's play, Tārık, each illustrating the literary expression of the human response to the death of a loved one.<sup>1</sup> However,

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1 The first of these illustrations, Ekrem found on a tombstone:

(R 1)    Āh Memdūḥa senūñ-çün dīdeler kan aḡlasun  
           Dīdeler diller degül cān aḡlasun cān aḡlasun  
           Gül yüzüñ, nergis gözün, gonca femüñ yād eyleyüb  
           Gīsū-yı dil-cūleruñ-çün sūnbūlistān aḡlasun  
           Bulmadum bir çāre rūḥānī-vū-cismānī saña  
           Dirdüñ añdukça ben 'ālemdē dermān aḡlasun  
           Sen ciger-pārem cinān bāḡında gez güller gibi  
           Derd-i ḥasretle babañ bī-çāre her ān aḡlasun

The/

in each case the quality of pathos is most in evidence, whereas it is the stirring and forceful nature of the emotions rather than their pathetic qualities to which attention should be drawn. The first of the examples, to illustrate the use of verse to excite a tenderness of feeling, could be regarded as the very antithesis of all that Ekrem has said previously about the quality of sincerity and simplicity as desiderata. In the verse all those clichés of the old poetry are introduced with no particular modification that would fit them for the intention of the poetry, the simplicity and directness that must be regarded as essential in stimulating grief are invalidated by the use of a four syllable redif which gives a mechanical structure to the poem. Far from exciting compassion, such verses can only give the impression of an amateurish attempt to achieve expression within the conventions of a poetry that, by its very nature, was never intended as a vehicle for sincere feelings. Reading such verses a century after Ekrem, one is left to wonder at the quality of his own literary criticism and how much in fact he believed the doctrines he so confidently expounds (pp. 40-44).

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The second illustration is translated in HOP, IV, 331. No doubt it is this section that inspired E. J. W. Gibb to summarise the modern school thus: "The Ottoman poets of today love chiefly to dwell upon such themes as a fading flower, or a girl dying of decline;" (in Lane-Poole, Turkey, p. 323).

The sublime ('ālī) emotion induces us to aspire to some higher plane and fills our hearts with wonder and yearning. The first example is taken from Āyetüllāh's translation of C. F. Volney's Les Ruines, a philosophy of history much influenced by the author's travels in the Levant. The passage cited is from the opening of the Invocation, a salutation addressed to the ruins, to which are attributed wisdom and truth by virtue of their age. They have proclaimed, the author declares, those sacred dogmas of liberty and equality much despised by tyrants. These are sublime thoughts, no one can deny, but are they necessarily emotive? Again one has cause to suspect that Ekrem was prompted to consider this passage as such, only because Volney professes to be thus moved while gazing upon those stones: "Benim kalbim siziñ temāşāñızdan ihsāsāt-ı 'amika ve efkār-ı 'alīye iktisābı-yle<sup>1</sup> inşirāh bulur." However, no matter how much its author may declare himself emotionally overwhelmed, it does not necessarily follow that the passage itself will evoke in others those same emotions. The second example, taken from 'Abdülhak̇k Hāmid's play, Eşber, is far more convincing: Aristotle is reflecting on the murder of Rukzan by Alexander the Great, whose tyranny he condemns. The third and the seventh quatrains of the passage cited are:

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1 The text writes iktisāb ile.

(H5) Hem-cinsini maḳbere delālet  
 Īrās-i maẓarret-ü-sefālet  
 Yā Rabb bu ne vaḥṣiyāne ḥaṣlet!  
 Eyā bu mı bizdeki 'adālet?

Bu mazlimeyi getir de yāda  
 Gez şevḳ ile 'ālem-i ziyāda  
 Aḳ çeşmüñi nezd-i Kibriyāda  
 Nūruñ ola dem-be-dem ziyāde<sup>1</sup>

Of course, one must take it for granted that any statement uttered by Aristotle — no matter how banal — will, by virtue of his reputation, be considered of exceptional value. However, this consideration apart, the monologue may with some justice be deemed sublime (pp. 43-46).

In none of the illustrations which purport to arouse the emotions, has Ekrem identified those elements which

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1 Trans: To point one's fellow-men to immolation,  
 To leave a legacy of desolation,  
 Oh, God, can this fiend be of Your creation?  
 Is justice now become such in our nation?

Now bring to mind this gloomy tyranny  
 And in the universe of light walk joyously.  
 Open your eyes to His great majesty,  
 And let your light increase perpetually.

render the language emotive. He has failed to analyse the passages and subsequently demonstrate those features which distinguish, let us say, sublime emotion from sublime thoughts. He is often at a loss for words to describe the function and effect of the various emotions. One symptom of this problem is his occasional recourse to metaphor in order to define the concepts under discussion: the stirring emotion is, for example, likened to a storm, the tender emotion to a breeze.

Having concluded his discussion of the emotions Ekrem proceeds to investigate some of the ancillary properties of a literary work: good taste, imagery, wit, memory, genius and skill. The first of these, good taste (*hüsn-i tabī'at*), in importance the equal of the intellect and emotions, is considered the consciousness of art. It discriminates between beauty and ugliness, clarity and obscurity, truth and falsehood, and makes plain those subtle differences which cause the sublime to be debased. Ekrem offers one definition: "good taste is the immediate emotional response to virtue in the midst of banality or to the banal in the midst of virtue." He is clearly not satisfied with this definition, for he proceeds to enlarge upon his own description of the attributes of good taste. It monitors thoughts by condemning the vulgar, the pretentious, the contrived and exaggerated and regulates the emotions by delineating those boundaries within which they are sensible; it confines imagery within the limits



of truth, or what appears as true, and requires art to be natural. Good taste is a prerequisite for all who aspire to writing well, and although it is a natural quality it may nevertheless be acquired by a critical and analytic study of the accepted literary works.

Contrasting good taste with the faculty of imagination (*kuvve-i hayālīye*), Ekrem suggests that while the former senses, discriminates and corrects, the latter invents, illuminates and adorns. He offers an analogy between writing and painting, in which the function of the imagination is likened to the paints with which the artist fills his canvas. The imagination gives nobility and sublimity to writing, and when it cannot express a truth, it invents a world of its own and so gives body and soul to it. He provides two illustrative passages for both the proper and the improper use of imagery, the former is taken from Şeyh Gâlib's *Hüsn-ü-'İşk*, the latter from 'İzzet Mollâ's *Gülşen-i 'İşk*. Şeyh Gâlib describes a desert thus:

(H5)      Bir deşt-i siyehde oldi güm-râh  
             Yeldâ-yı şitâ belâ-yı nâ-gâh  
             Bir deşt bu kim, ne 'üzû bi-'llâh  
             Cinler cirid oynar anda her-gâh

Birbirine ye's-ü-havf lāhik  
 Geh kar yağar idi geh karanlık<sup>1</sup>

'İzzet Mollā, also depicts a frightening and hostile landscape and describes it thus:

(Ḥaf 1) İki yol arasında mārīstān  
 Eñ küçük hayye bir kalın urgan  
 Nehri gūyā cehennemüñ deresi  
 Bu imiş vādi-yi gamuñ deresi  
 Kaldı hayretde iki yār-ı şefīk<sup>2</sup>

Both illustrations employ vivid imagery, but while Şeyh Gālīb gradually develops a scene of increasing

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- 1 Trans: They lost the way amidst a desert drear  
 Where winter-night doth reign and sudden fear  
 A desert this — in God we refuge take  
 Whereof the jinn alway their tilt yard make  
 Together met were terror and despair  
 It rained now darkness and now snowflakes there.

Trans. Gibb, HOP, IV, 201.

- 2 Trans: 'Twixt these two paths lay snake-infested slopes  
 The smallest snakes as big as good stout ropes  
 There flowed 'tween them infernal waters deep  
 Woeful torrents were these dismal waters deep  
 Astounded stood these two companions dear

desolation, 'İzzet Mollā destroys the effect he is aiming at by overstatement. Ekrem advises the reader that the imagery need not necessarily conform to truth, but warns him that should he depart from it, he must avoid incongruity or levity, and this may be achieved only by the use of one's own judgement. On these grounds he rejects 'İzzet Mollā's use of imagery.

Ekrem proceeds to the discussion of wit (zarāfet), an innate quality which may not be acquired by study. It is adequately described through its attributes, so that the reader is left in no doubt as to the function of this faculty. By the employment of wit a writer is able to lend to his works grace and charm, and a reader may immediately recognise allusions and perceive what is intended in other literary figures. It is that element of genius which discovers those relationships between objects on which metaphors and similes are based, and should not be confused with the intelligence or reason. It is not an essential quality for every literary genre, and a writer bereft of wit may nevertheless acquire an appreciative readership and achieve a high position in the estimation of his peers.

Ekrem discusses the function of the faculty of memory in a section entitled "Ḳuvve-i Ḥāfıza" and in the following istıtrād. He distinguishes between the conscious effort

of committing material to memory and the unconscious assimilation of information, the first being subject to recall at a later date, while the latter intrudes into the consciousness involuntarily. He terms these "taḥaṭṭur" and "tevārūd" respectively. Having borrowed the latter expression from the stock of technical terms peculiar to Arabic criticism, he is obliged to define it in its classical meaning. Arabic literary theory admits of several terms for literary theft or borrowing, each indicating a particular degree of plagiarism. Tevārūd occurs when two writers, unbeknown to each other, coincidentally produce the same line of verse, or a similar passage of prose. This is extremely rare and only generally met with in chronograms where the idea to be expressed is already established and the freedom of choice and ordering of its expression will be severely curtailed not only by the exigencies of meter and rhyme, but by the additional demand of the arithmetic composition of the verse. Ekrem acknowledges the rarity of true tevārūd in contemporary writing, and suggests that much coincidence is the result of downright plagiarism (sirḳat-ü-intihāl), rather than being cases of minds arriving fortuitously at the same choice of words. Ekrem's "tevārūd", however, allows for literary borrowing as long as it is done unconsciously.

The function of the memory is to assimilate the ideas of others, subject them to critical analysis and judgement, and then to store them in the mind whence they may be recalled as an aid to the creation of new ideas, fresh imagery and brilliant description. Ekrem observes that although the memory is capable of storing ideas which have not been properly understood, the process will impose an inordinate burden on it and will ultimately destroy this precious faculty. The suggestion that understanding is an aid to memorisation, besides being a statement of the obvious, should be understood as a damning indictment of the contemporary educational system which demanded of students the assimilation of vast quantities of undigested material, rather than the development of an analytic and questioning mind.

Ekrem then discusses genius and skill (dehā-vu -hūnerverī), qualities which are possessed by very few individuals. Genius, by far the rarer of the two gifts, allows a writer to discover the unknown, and to invent that which did not previously exist, while skill permits one to adapt the ideas of others and to present them as one's own. No further explanation or development of this idea is offered, and we can only be left with the impression that these two terms have been defined somewhat arbitrarily.

The last topic of discussion in this, the first part of the Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt, is the question of aesthetics. In this section, which he entitles "Şanā'i'de Güzellik neden 'İbāretdir", he creates an analogy between literature and the other arts, the former appreciated by the mind, the latter by means of the external senses. While beauty in art is achieved by blending colours in painting, shapes in the plastic arts or sounds in music, in literature it results from the conformity of expression to the idea it represents. These two elements must conform also to truth and nature, and to the noble aspirations of the human spirit. While everyone recognises beauty, no one had yet defined it.

The second section of the work is devoted to style (esālīb), the treatment being a mixture of Eastern and Western rhetorical modes. Accepting the best from each of the two distinct traditions, Ekrem achieves a rather felicitous alliance between systems which may, at first, appear incompatible. The Arabic tradition, seeking to achieve a tightly structured theory of language through the analysis of its mechanism, does not accord well with the European practice of identifying adherent characteristics. This marriage of Eastern and Western rhetoric was achieved by the relatively simple process of adopting the broad framework from Europe and incorporating Arabic theory only when it provided a more appropriate exposition than could be found in the foreign model. Ekrem's exploitation

of the 'ilmü 'l-belāḡa is, however, little more than the casual borrowing of some technical terms from the traditional science, and a relatively small amount of its substance; in principle he rejects the spirit of this Islamic discipline with its passion for comprehensive ordering and classification. However, the urge to systematise and tabulate must have been an instinct controlled only by the most constant vigilance and self-restraint, a literary taxonomy had become second nature to all Ottomans. Ekrem does occasionally relax this vigilance and adds more classifications when he finds the existing categories deficient. This, however, is not a serious criticism of his method; indeed, it could be justifiably asserted that these lapses into the old methods contribute the most lucid passages in the work for many readers not imbued with Western literary ideals. It is not unreasonable to suggest that the casual introduction of terms and concepts from the traditional rhetoric may have been intended to provide some props on which the old scholars might lean, in order to survey around them the mass of unfamiliar ideas expressed in an alien jargon.

The following tables of contents from Lefranc's Traité and the Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt serve best to explain how this section has been composed:

Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt:Fasl-i sānī: ÜslûbLefranc's Traité:style et composition1<sup>o</sup> Mebḥas: Feṣāḥat

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The Introduction consists of two sections, the introduction proper (entitled "Üslüb") being merely a translation of Lefranc's general remarks on style, and the istitirād, no more than a restatement of this, in terms more familiar to the Ottoman reader. The translation is for the most part faithful, the only concession to Ottoman literary norms being the interpolation of two beyts. He completes his general discussion on style with two paragraphs from Kemāl's literary manifesto. Conscious of the pioneering nature of his work, a footnote is provided in which he justifies his choice of "Üslüb" to render the concept of "manner of presentation", without acknowledging that here it translates the French word, "style". The istitirād repeats the substance of the introduction, but in a language more elevated than that of the first section, which was bound too tightly by the restraints of accurate translation.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Compare Lefranc (pp. 51-53) with Ekrem (pp. 61-64).

The quotation by Kemāl is from his essay "Edebîyât hakkında ba'zı Mülâhazât" (p. 103), see above p. .

In another footnote (p. 62) Ekrem acknowledges the author of the phrase "style is the man himself", as Buffon and correctly identifies it as part of a speech to the French Academy. This would suggest that Ekrem must have used European sources other than Lefranc, or indeed may have read the speech itself. There are some stylists who are prepared to pronounce

The main body of the section on style can be divided into three notional divisions, the first being based on the mukaddime to the Telhīs, which deals with the negative attributes of style, that is, the faults incidental to feṣāhat. Ekrem expands this section to include lapses which are peculiar to Ottoman usage and, by extrapolation, to Persian. To the traditional faults of style, Za'f-ı te'līf, ta'kīd, garābet, tenāfür, he adds "Ġalaṭ-ı teḥakkümī", "tetābu'-ı izāfet", "kegret-i tekrār", "şiveye muġāyeret", "imlāsızlık", "muṭabakat-i elfāz" and "müşkil-pesendlik", and here his inspiration comes more from the Eastern mode of rhetorical analysis than the Western. Setting himself up as arbiter of usage, and drawing on

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on the meaning of the dictum without showing any evidence of actually having read Buffon's speech. Gosse, who wrote the article "Style" in the Encyclopedia Britannica (1910 ed.), considers these words to be an observation on the superiority of homo sapiens over the rest of the animal world. F. L. Lucas, Style (London, 1955), makes much of Gosse's attribution of the quotation to Buffon's L'histoire naturelle, arguing that it was in fact from his Discours sur le style — here the two opinions may be reconciled by the fact that in some editions (e.g. Oeuvres complètes, 1824) the speech, entitled merely "Discours", is part of the introduction to L'histoire naturelle.

criterion of the mechanism of language rather than the effect it produces, he attempts to account for all faults and adds to those already identified in the Telhīs many which might otherwise be termed Ottomanisms or instances of poetic licence.

The concept of fesāhat, purity of language, is common both to the Islamic tradition and to Lefranc's exposition, in the former the concept being expressed through a highly developed analysis of linguistic faults, while the latter merely draws attention to the existence of barbarisms and neologisms and their adverse effect on style. In the Belāgat-i 'Osmānīye, Cevdet Paşa treated only of tenāfūr, ġarābet, muḥālefetü 'l-kıyās, za'f-ı te'līf, ta'kīd and tetābu'-ı izāfet, indicating that their incidence may be controlled by reference to the traditional linguistic sciences. Ġarābet is governed by the science of lexicography, muḥālefetü 'l-kıyās by the 'ilmü 's-sarf, za'f-ı te'līf and ta'kīd-i lafzī by nahv and ta'kīd-i ma'nevī by beyān, while tenāfūr is recognised by one's own aesthetic awareness (zevk-ü-hiss). In this last case Cevdet Paşa has made a radical departure from Islamic practice which attempts to explain aesthetically displeasing combinations in physical terms. Unwilling to apply the Arabic laws of euphony to Turkish, Cevdet Paşa leaves the onus of deciding what constitutes disharmony in language to the reader (p. 16). Ekrem, however, realising that many stylistic faults are peculiar to Turkish, makes little attempt to

define them in terms of other linguistic sciences, being content merely to identify their existence and to suggest some rules whereby they may be avoided.

The "ğalaṭ-i teḥakkümī" consist of violations of the principles governing normative written Ottoman. He divides them, in the best scholastic tradition, into words in which the letters are increased, decreased, or exchanged. This can be caused either by the careless use of words, as in the case of "egerçi" instead of "eger" where the increase is represented by the suffix "-çi", or by ellision, "temiz" in place of "temyiz". Many of these instances are used for particular effect, often to comply with exigencies of meter or rhyme. While modern stylists would consider such aberrations as licence permissible in the language of poetry, Ekrem regards these as "ğalaṭ". In some cases, carried away by his zeal in identifying instances of these faults, he wrongly accuses authors of violating feṣāḥat. Taking a beyt by Ṣābit (d. 1712):

(Ḥaf 1) Mey-i 'iskūñle bir piyāle pür  
 Şunub üftādeñi ayaklandur<sup>1</sup>

he objects to the rhyme, which he feels has been achieved by imposing a change in the voweliling of the verb

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1 Trans: Now bring the liquor of your love, a glass complete,  
 And raise again your love-struck lover to his feet.

"ayaklanmak". He would vowel the causative suffix with a kesre, complying with the current rules of vowel harmony, a convention not applicable in Şābit's time.

Galat-i Tehakkümî represents the conscious violations of orthography and usage and contrasts with imlāsızlık, which is the unintentional mis-spelling of words, usually arising from confusion between Arabic consonants which are undistinguished in conventional Turkish pronunciation; this most frequently occurs between ş, s and ş; t and t; ħ, ħ and ħ; and z, z and z. His treatment of za'f-ı te'lîf, garābet, tetābu'-ı izāfet and tenāfür are based on the traditional analysis of style. However, unlike Cevdet Paşa and the preceding generations of rhetoricians, Ekrem provides copious examples and evinces a concern not only for the mechanism of these faults but also for their cause and effect. He also introduces some new faults, "keşret-i tekrār", the excessive repetition of a word within a text, and "şiveye muğāyeret", violation of conventional usage. This section concludes with two observations: firstly, when considering the choice of words in a passage, he believes that for any given concept a single word, and no other, is most appropriate. This quality, which he terms "muṭābakat-i elfāz", corresponds to the "propriété" of Lefranc, who held that exact synonyms do not exist. Secondly, he notes with dismay the tendency of critics to be excessively demanding in regard to purity of language. The faults he identifies as "müskil-pesendlik" would, he

feels, confine the language in a straight-jacket of borrowed rules and conventions.

One may presume that this last fault has been included to counterbalance the necessarily negative tone of this section. Ekrem seems incapable of totally freeing himself from the restraints imposed by the traditional method of analysis, and therefore feels obliged to treat peculiarly Ottoman faults in the manner of the Telhīs. One would certainly have expected a less rigid approach here, an argument that would identify incidences of violation of normative practice, and an attempt to explain both their reason and effect. Ekrem himself seems to recognise this deficiency and presents "müskil-pesendlik" as if to make amends for an excessively negative approach to style.

Having dealt with purity, Ekrem proceeds to the treatment of five adherent qualities: clarity, naturalness, precision, harmony and appropriateness, the last of these being further subdivided into various stylistic modes. Here the treatment is little more than the direct adaptation of Lefranc's theory, applied to Ottoman literature. Unlike Süleymān Paşa, Ekrem has adopted only those qualities which have a more or less universal applicability, and illustrates them with a variety of authors. The Mebāni 'l-İnşā had attempted to provide society with literary models — such as oratory — which were incapable of being

assimilated in the contemporary political and social environment, and the examples were drawn, often quite uncritically, from writers already influenced by the West. Such an approach can be criticised in that it adopts a theory of literature from a foreign tradition in order to apply it to that part of one's own literary corpus which was already most directly influenced by it. The implication inherent in such an approach is that, because the alien theory may be applied to a part of one's own literature, it may be applied to the whole. Ekrem, however, resisted this temptation and may be credited with attempting to produce a balanced and representative range of illustrations. The majority of the examples cited do, indeed, come from the modern period, but he has nevertheless incorporated enough of the old writers to constitute a representative survey of Ottoman literature, if not in terms of the complete literary output of the past five centuries, at least in respect of what his contemporaries were currently reading. The citations, like those in the first fasl of the book, may be deemed unconvincing in that they do not exclusively illustrate the literary characteristics under discussion, often being more appropriate to some other quality. This fault — if it may be so considered — is unavoidable with this approach, for any given passage of prose will contain several adherent qualities, it being consequently inevitable that, on occasion, the most striking of these will not be the one intended in the illustration.

Ekrem may also be criticised for not being more critical of his source. However, it is characteristic of a product of the Tanzimat, such as Ekrem was, that he can accept a foreign model for the innovation he is urging without reflecting on, or even criticising, the principles on which this imported system rested. One need not probe deeply to find an explanation for such a servile attitude towards the new authority — indeed the reliance on established authority was wholly characteristic of the scholarship of Islam throughout the Ottoman period — for the whole premise of the reforms which had been introduced into society by the men of the Tanzimat implied a feeling of inadequacy in existing systems to fulfill the demands of the new direction in which they observed their society was moving. The reverence that was, in other branches of learning, shown towards the medical text-book, the manual of arms or the treatise on chemistry, finds its exact psychological counterpart among those who longed for a literature which would, as in Europe, mirror faithfully the reactions of the artist to the stimuli of the circumstances in which he lived. These imitations, unfortunately, went beyond the mere technical borrowings noticeable in Ekrem and his followers, extending even into what might be regarded as the spiritual ambiance of creative writing, so that they were prepared to accept for themselves the attitudes of romanticism, of realism, and of sentimentality which European models had shown them the appropriate posture of the artist.



The third and fourth section are devoted to tropes and figures of speech, the third fasl encompassing all the figures of beyān and some from bedī', the fourth the sanā'i'-i lafzīye. What is most striking about this organisation is that it violates the traditional classification of figures. The Telhīs divides the figures of speech into two chapters, beyān which analyses the psychological mechanism of metaphor and related tropes, and bedī' which merely lists and explains the nature of the other figures. Ekrem, obviously influenced by Lefranc, breaks down this traditional distinction. Although he incorporates some of the highly sophisticated analytic approach of the traditional treatment of metaphor, he has — by virtue of placing it within the same chapter as other figures — departed from the original purpose of beyān. It is no longer the precocious Islamic science which predated modern European linguistic analysis by several centuries, it is now relegated to the level of bedī', the product of scholastic classification.

Both the Western and Eastern approach to the study of figures of speech share — by coincidence rather than borrowing, it must be emphasised — many features in common, most noticeably a predilection for identification and classification of new figures. As all languages inevitably share certain features, many figures of speech will be common to most of them and it should, therefore, not be surprising that Lefranc's exposition mirrors the classical

Islamic approach in many respects. It is virtually impossible to determine whether Ekrem's "rūcū'" (p. 316), for example, is based on the traditional Islamic figure or on Lefranc's correction (p. 195), so alike are they in many respects; and similarly, iltifāt (p. 306) could be apostrophe (p. 202) and mübālağa (p. 299) hyperbole (p. 164). Some figures are purely French in inspiration: "īstifhām" (p. 308), "nidā" (p. 310), "ḳat'" (p. 312), "terdīd" (p. 313), "tekrīr" (p. 320), "tedrīc" (p. 321)<sup>1</sup>; others purely Islamic: sec' (p. 351) and tersī' (p. 355) (if, in fact, these two techniques of prose composition should really be regarded as tropes at all in the context of Ottoman). What does not belong to the Islamic tradition is the explanation of the figure in terms of its purpose, or the effect produced by it. Some of these Ekrem describes in terms which contrast sharply with the traditional mode. Rūcū', for example, is described in the Telhīs thus:

Ve-min-hū 'r-rūcū'u, ve-hūve 'l-'avdū  
ile 'l-keḷāmi 's-sābıḳ<sup>1</sup> bi-'n-nakḏ<sup>1</sup> li-nūkte<sup>tin</sup>  
 (p. 359)

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1 These are based on Lefranc's interrogation (p. 190), exclamation (p. 205), disjonction (p. 154), dubitation (p. 191), repetition (p. 152) and gradation (p. 189) respectively.

Ekrem, on the other hand, considers it

" . . . a figure which corrects and amends a statement with an expression which is yet more effective, more forceful or more colourful and brilliant. It is used as if to interpolate into a statement a point forgotten, or deny a statement which had unintentionally slipped off the tongue, the intention being to give the statement more force or elegance. . ." (p. 316).

What is most suprising in his treatment are the omissions. Where, for instance, are hüsn-i ta'lîl, irsâl-i meşel, tecâhül-i 'ârif and sehl-i mümteni', figures which are especially prominent in Ottoman literature and given such particular attention in works such as Nâcî's İstılâhât-ı Edebîye?

It is probably a significant indication of the divided mind of the Ottoman intellectual at this time that these tropes of bedî' are given anything more than a passing notice in a work of this character. All that has preceded would indicate that Ekrem was removed from the mechanical analysis of the literary model which sought to reduce its effects to a classifiable system. Unfortunately, he had this legacy of rhetorical terms conveniently at hand, and presumably could not resist the facility they

offered to complete the exposition of his theory of literature in a manner in which, after all, appeared to have the sanction of his European preceptors.

In any original work of literature produced by someone of creative talent, there is no conscious striving after a specific effect through the employment of a text-book trope, the impact of the statement having always sprung from the inspiration of the moment. The fact that certain familiar metaphorical usages, certain inversions of language recur from period to period and from author to author should really be regarded as part of the vocabulary of literature, and it is only through the analytical attitudes of people who are themselves not creative that it was felt necessary and possible to collect and classify them.

Towards the end of the book, Ekrem prescribes, for the first time, certain practices to enable the student to write better Ottoman. These are, however, presented as a continuation of the Sanā'i'-i Lafzīye. In a section dealing with the "şerā'it-i tescī", he lays down laws which cover the use of sec'. The overriding principle governing its use is that it should conform to sound aesthetic appreciation (zevk-i selīm), which is based, in turn, on five laws: (1) it should be natural; (2) it should not be overused; (3) it must, in terms of the first two conditions, be appropriate to the particular

style being written; (4) the component rhyming phrases of a sentence must be balanced in terms of their length; and (5) secondary sec' may be placed within the primary scheme, but not a tertiary within the secondary. Nowhere does he allude to the syntactical function of sec', in which the rhyme acts as an index of conjunctive relationships, treating it purely as one of the "tezyīnāt", a function which it often did not serve.

The Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt concludes with some observations on the state of the Ottoman language and its need for reform (pp. 381-387). Echoing Kemāl's appeal for the establishment of a society which would promote higher literary standards, he poses several questions which it might wish to ponder: (1) Does Ottoman possess an adequate vocabulary for science and literature? (2) Should a dictionary of Ottoman be compiled, and if so, on what bases? (3) Should it be necessary to commit to memory thirty-two different Arabic and Persian words for "lion", for example, while the language was in need of vocabulary to express subtle ideas? (4) Could spelling be standardised? (5) When two languages share a common set of principles, manner of expression and basis of rhetoric, can they then be considered as two distinct languages? Indeed, can a language which is governed by the rhetorical principles of another look forward to any progress? (6) Which of the Arabic and Persian principles must inevitably be used in Turkish? Must they be incorporated along with the

rules which apply only to Turkish? And finally (7), must Arabic and Persian be dismissed as of no relevance to Ottoman? He provides some answers, offered as no more than his own opinions: (1) Ottoman is deficient in scientific terms, and yet overloaded with an inert vocabulary. (2) A complete dictionary of Turkish should be compiled in which newly borrowed words would be included, and the Arabic and Persian vocabulary restricted. (4) Spelling should be standardised by means of a good grammar and dictionary. Turkish is completely independent in its rhetoric and literary principles, and these should, therefore, be compiled in a form appropriate to it. (5) A language which has a rhetorical system belonging to another cannot progress. He concludes by admitting that the study of Arabic and Persian are necessary, but insists that Turkish too must be studied.

It is beyond the scope of this present work to analyse the implications of these questions, and the answers tentatively offered. In these speculations it is clear that Ekrem is not advocating an "arı Türkçe" such as is presently being promoted by the Dil Kurumu; the very concept would have been beyond the limits of even the most revolutionary imagination in the 1870s. His aim, one must presume, is a Turkish which avoids the unnecessary use of Arabic and Persian where alternative Turkish correspondences exist. For Ekrem, the dominating influence of Arabic over the Turkish element in Ottoman, manifests

itself most noticeably in the use of its grammar and rhetoric. Like Kemāl, he considers rhetoric one of the most important dimensions of the language and associates the traditional system with many of the evils which beset Ottoman; in particular bedī' contained all the ornamentations and figures associated with the "bombast" of oriental literatures, a feature which was markedly absent in much produced in the West. However, accepting that rhetoric is as necessary as morphology and syntax, he feels unable to abolish the old without somehow replacing it.

Many of the faults in the Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt stem not from Ekrem's lack of familiarity with Ottoman literature, but from a basic misunderstanding of the function of language in Western European countries, in particular the role of literary language. Kemāl's literary manifesto had appealed for a national literature which would reflect the language of the people, there being, of course, no Ottoman nation within the traditional political structure. Kemāl's idea was the establishment of a nation state with a national literature, very much on the model of France and England, and as a step in this direction, he appeals for a "national rhetoric", the Arabic bedī' being identified as one of the most inhibiting influences on the Ottoman language. Its figures endowed writing with much of its aesthetic quality, but only at the expense of obfuscating the intention of the speaker and frustrating the goal of communication. But Kemāl was not so naive as

to believe that language could be effective without rhetorical embellishments; rather, his appeal was for a system that would distinguish between those that elucidate and those that obfuscate. Ekrem responded to Kemāl's appeal by accepting as axiomatic that French literature was worth emulating in all respects, and it was natural, therefore, that he should take a standard college text-book as his model. This was, however, a work of literary theory, in every way as dependent on Latin and Greek formulations as Ottoman was on Arabic. The one feature of the Traité that was born of the French literary experience is the brief introduction on ideas. This, Ekrem expands, the main text of the Traité being absorbed into the Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt without the enthusiasm that is so noticeable in his treatment of ideas. It is as if he had realised that French literary theory, as presented in the Traité was, after all, no more relevant to French society than the Telhīs was to Ottoman.

The Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt succeeds in its immediate objective, to provide Ottoman with a rhetorical system that was not based completely on Arabic. In the long term, the goal was to develop a Turkish rhetoric, and here it failed, for Ekrem could not discover a set of principles which was exclusive to Ottoman, the Traité and the Telhīs both dealing, in the main, of concepts which have universal applicability. One cannot therefore suggest that the Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt replaced the Arabic with the French



model, for the latter was in fact a work of ancient rhetoric, applied to but not evolved from French. To aspire to a Turkish rhetoric is as futile as to wish for one peculiar to French or English. The value of the Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt lies in the emphasis on ideas, a theme well developed by Ekrem.

The Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt starts from the premise that a theory of rhetoric was necessary for the development of a language, and furthermore that it should evolve from the practice of that language. Both these notions are false: many languages, in fact, exist without a formulation of rhetorical practices, indeed many literatures exist in the complete absence of rhetorical theory; those languages that do have a rhetoric, have often quite successfully borrowed and exploited that of another civilisation. What is certain, however, is that there exists some sort of relationship between rhetoric and literature which may at first not be immediately apparent. An awareness of rhetorical theory can but influence the literary production of a civilisation. That is not to say that the writer will consciously employ rhetorical devices merely because they exist (although in many literatures this is precisely the case), but rather, a study of rhetoric will arouse in him a curiosity about the mechanism of language and, by displaying before him a variety of exemplary forms, will encourage him to emulate them. Just as rhetoric is a good servant, so too is it a bad master. The Ottomans ruled

many aspects of their society through the Arabic sciences, their attitude to them being deferential and subservient: they had allowed their literature to be dominated by Arabic rhetorical theory. Ekrem was hoping to liberate Ottoman literature from the tyranny of the Telhīs, and to place it under the liberal rule of the Traité until such a time as Ottoman rhetoric had developed to a point when it could overthrow alien domination.

The value of the Ta'lim-i Edebîyât is that it emphasised the importance of ideas in contrast to the outward forms, the main concern of the traditional approach. How much more satisfying would the work have been had he merely presented the chapter on ideas by itself. However his brief was the compilation of a work on rhetoric and he was forced to fall back on the traditional approach, be it Arabic or French, in order to give his course structure. To put forward the thesis that good style consists of good thought is tantamount to admitting that there is little to be learnt from the subject itself, the student being more usefully employed in acquiring knowledge and learning how to think.

Some time after the publication of the Ta'lim-i Edebîyât, Nāmık Kemāl wrote a critique of some seventy-four pages. The manuscript was never published in his own lifetime and it is not known whether Ekrem was even

aware of its existence.<sup>1</sup> It was completely in character for Kemāl to appeal for reforms in the language and then to attack viciously those who responded to his call. Ziyā Paşa, having noted the need for an anthology of good literature which the student might aspire to emulate, compiled the Harābāt as his contribution to the reform of literary standards. Kemāl's reaction was to publish two works of criticism, the Tahrīb-i Harābāt (1874) and the Ta'kīb (1875), both extremely hostile.<sup>2</sup> The most interesting aspect of Kemāl's critique of the Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt is that it is confined to the first section of the work, the chapter devoted to ideas. The bases of the criticisms are insubstantial, the main contribution of this risāle being a selection of alternative examples — many of them taken from Arab authors! It is clear from the detailed attention he devoted to it that in Kemāl's view the major contribution of the Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt is the prominence given to thought over expression, but as the work survives only in draft it cannot be ascertained if he proposed to review the remaining sections of the work in the same way.

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1 The text has been published with an introduction by N. H. Onan, Namık Kemal'in Talim-i Edebiyat Üzerine bir Risalesi (Ankara, 1950).

2 This controversy is the subject of a monograph: M. K. Bilgegil, Harābāt karşısında Nâmık Kemâl (Istanbul, 1972).

In the spring of 1885, four years after the publication of the Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt, Ekrem wrote Zemzeme III, a book of verse, in the introduction to which he restated his views on literature.<sup>1</sup> He re-emphasised the importance of ideas and begins by addressing himself to the definition of "bedā'i'-i fikrīye" (intellectual beauties). As he has not previously defined what he means by these "beauties", one must look to his definition of literature for some indication. In the Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt he identifies one of the constituent elements of a literary work as the "zevk-i vicdānī" (aesthetic awareness). One may therefore suppose that the bedā'i'-i fikrīye are the conscious expression of this quality. His choice of the word "bedā'i'" qualified by the adjective "fikrīye" suggests "intellectual embellishments", but it is clear from his argument that he intends "thought-provoking ideas". The phrase "bedā'i'-i fikrīye" does suggest a parallel with the bedā'i'-i lafzīye and the bedā'i'-i ma'nevīye, the two categories into which all the figures of bedī' are divided, and his choice of words implies that ideas have replaced the old tropes and conceits of rhetoric as the material from which a literary work may be created. No longer would the critic look to the well-balanced sentence, in which the masterly use of sec', tersī' and muṣāzane delights the reader with

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1 The introduction to Zemzeme III is reproduced in I. H. Sevük, Tanzimattan Beri Edebiyat Tarihi, II (Istanbul, 1940), 202-207. The text is also given, in the Arabic characters, in the Ābide-i Edeb (Istanbul, 1314), 87-95.

symmetrical phrases and parallel concrete imagery. The idea itself was now to become more important than its expression.

The mere use of a newly-coined phrase such as "bedā'i'-i fikriye" implies changes in society as well as in literature, which in the latter half of the Nineteenth Century was to serve as the mirror in front of which were modelled the new styles from the West. The great emphasis placed on the expression of familiar ideas in an elegant and polished manner, replete with the conventional figures and conceits, is the feature of the old literature to which Ekrem most objects. He would like the idea itself to be impressive, rather than merely its expression, and this, he believes, can be achieved by the intelligent use of figures, as a means to, and not as an end in themselves.

One definition supplied for this elusive concept holds that the most beautiful (güzel) works are those which cause men to weep; this, however, is rejected by Ekrem, who advances his own opinion that they are those which, when read, cause the reader to contemplate a while, for not all beautiful works provoke tears. He illustrates his own position by comparison with a person walking in the country who sees a flower to which he is attracted, but as he cannot bring himself to pluck it he passes on, affected by a certain feeling of yearning. Even if he should pick it, he is affected by the same feeling when

the time comes to discard the flower; in both cases he is caused to "think". Ekrem admits that he remains in ignorance as to the nature of the thought, he merely acknowledges that it exists. The implication to be drawn from the analogy, is that just as the flower evoked an indefinable feeling in the person who was attracted to it, so do the "bedā'i'-i fikrīye" produce an aesthetic reaction which is personal and therefore defies classification or definition.

Further examples of situation which produce a reaction in the heart are provided: the sound of a flute echoing across the valley at the melancholy hour of evening, or the fisherman's cry reverberating across a moonlit sea, or the following songs:

Akşam olur güneş batar şimdi buradan  
 Ğarīb Ğarīb kaval çalar çoban dereden  
 Pek körpesin esirgesün seni Yaradan  
 Gir koyuna kurt kapmasun gel kuzucağım<sup>1</sup>

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1 Trans: The sun is sinking and the evening-dusk is  
 falling now  
 And from the vale the shepherd-lad is piping  
 soft and low  
 May he who made thee keep thee safe, for very  
 young art thou  
 Come, join the flock, my little lamb, the  
 wolf might seize on thee

- (H 5) Toldur kadehe şarāb-ı nābı  
 Mezc eyle şafakla mäh-tābı  
 Bilmem ki cihān bitüb dururken  
 Bitmez mi cihānuñ ıztırābı  
 Bir bāde getir, aman aman gel!<sup>1</sup>

Ekrem then quotes a number of verses by Nef'ī, a poet whom he found particularly satisfying, in that he was forced to ponder on the ideas expressed:

- (H 1) Hired 'allāme-i idrākümüñ bir köhne şākirdi  
 Felek sen-nāme-i endişemüñ bir cild-i zer-kārı<sup>2</sup>

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The text is taken, without acknowledgement, from a şarkī by Ziyā Paşa; the translation is from HOP (V, 95), where the text (VI, 370) reads sürüye instead of koyuna (1.4) and gider instead of baatar (1.1).

- 1 Trans: Come fill this glass with limpid wine  
 Let moonlight and the dusk combine  
 This world declines unceasingly  
 But will its troubles ne'er decline?  
 Come now refill this goblet dear!
- 2 Trans: The intellect's an aging student of the  
 master of my understanding  
 The cosmos just a gilded tome of the  
Şāh-nāme of my concerns

(R1) Zāhida rind ol hemen şüretde kalma 'ārif ol  
 'Ālem-i ma'nāda hüküm-i pādīşāhī böyledür.  
 Çark eder bir noktada nūr-ı siyāha 'ālemi  
 'Ārifün ser-māye-i kıl-ı siyāhı böyledür.<sup>1</sup>

(H2) Agyāra nigāh itmedigün nāz şanırdum  
 Çok luṭf imiş ol 'āşıkā, ben az şanırdum<sup>2</sup>

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1 Trans: Zealot, forthright turn thou toper, dwell  
 no more mid shows, be wise,  
 For 'tis thus within the mystic world we  
 win to kingly sway.  
 All the world 'twould overwhelm in one sole  
 point of blackest night,  
 Such the wonderous power the sage's tawny  
 reed-pen doth display.

HOP, III, 272.

2 Trans: I thought 'twas pride made thee no look  
 upon the rival throw  
 How great the grace, I deemed so small,  
 thou didst on him bestow!

HOP, III, 271.



(R1) Aramazsin hîç var mi dilde dağın yâresin  
 Bõyle mi gözler güzeller 'Āşık bî-çāresin  
 Āh ile derdi bilinmez 'Āşık-ı bî-çāresin  
 Çak çak itsün meger Āhı dil-i şad pāresin<sup>1</sup>

Ekrem supposed that all readers would be similarly moved by these words, which he believed contained beauties (güzellikler) which inspire the soul, and possess ideas which move the heart. 'Abdūlhakk Hāmid is cited as an example of a contemporary poet whose works have the same effect on the reader.

Addressing himself to the question of how elegance (leṭāfet) and sublimity ('ulvīyet) are manifested in language, he admits his inability to define them in absolute terms. He advances the proposition that these

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1 Trans: Never wilt thou look and see the wound within  
 my heart that lies?  
 Can it be that beauties always treat their  
 loves forlorn this wise?  
 Never may the hapless lover's pain by any  
 sigh be shown;  
 Nay, not e'en although his heart were torn to  
 fragments by his sighs.

HOP, III, 271, where the text (VI, 300) reads  
yoklamazsın instead of aramazsın (l. 1).

qualities exist whenever there is agreement and harmony between ideas, imagery and emotions — which are characterised by their conformity to the noble aspirations of the soul — and the words and expressions used to convey them. Having introduced the concept of "nobility" into this proposition, he defines it as a quality which exists in ideas, imagery and emotions whenever the soul is moved by ardent yearning. The writer's reason (*nefs-i nāṭika*) creates concepts, and his aesthetic awareness or good taste (*zevk-i ma'nevī* or *hüsn-i tabī'at*) guides their expression. This dichotomy between the idea and its expression is the focal point of Ekrem's argument.

He condemns sublimity of word and phrase which conceals banality of thought and sentiment, likening it to a balloon which ascends briefly into the atmosphere of popularity only to plummet into obscurity. Works devoid of true emotion are as the moonlight which shines bright in the darkness but produces no warmth in the heart.

Continuing his attempt to define the criteria by which literature may be judged, he poses further questions. Why, he asks, should Nef'ī be considered the most accomplished master of the kaśīde form, which is distinguished by its use of bold imagery, rich language and euphony, and why should Fuṣṭülī's genius eclipse all others in the writing of gazels, poems marked by tender emotion, elegant imagery and exquisite turn of phrase.

To this he offers no clear answers, but goes on immediately to suggest that three types of beauty exist, particular to the "maḥāsın-i fikrīye", the "bedā'i'-i ḥayālīye" and the "sünūhāt-ı kalbīye" respectively. The work which combines all three will manifest the highest degree of elegance, such as the beyt by Şināsī previously cited in the Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt<sup>1</sup>, and the following verses from Nedīm's neşīde describing Kapudan Muştafā Paşa's seaside palace:

(R1) Kūh-u-deryā iki cānibden derāğūş eylemiş  
Şanki deryā dāyesi kūh-sār ise lālāsıdur  
Kūh şakınmakda ruhsārın toğar günden anuñ  
Baḥr ise āyīne-dār-ı tal'at-i zībāsıdur<sup>2</sup>

These beyts are praised for their brilliant use of imagery while the following verses of Nābīzāde Nāzım Bey (1862-93) are considered a good example of "sünūhāt-ı kalbīye":

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1 See above p. 156.

2 Trans: Sea and mountain-land embrace it round about  
on either hand,  
'Tis as though the sea its nurse were, and its  
guardian yonder height,  
There the mountain careful shields its cheek  
what time the sun doth rise,  
Here the sea displays the mirror 'fore its  
dazzling visage bright.

- (R1) Zevk-i sevda duymaduñ 'âşık-perestâr olmaduñ  
 Ol kadar sevdüm de 'ışkımdan haber-dâr olmaduñ!  
 Bahtiyâr olmağdı sevdâdan merâmı tab'unun  
 Bahtuma düşmân kesildüñ, tab'uma yâr olmaduñ.<sup>1</sup>

The following verses by Mehmed Bey show how tender emotion and elegant ideas may be agreeably combined:

- (H5) Ey yâdı baña enīs-i gam-h<sup>v</sup>âr!  
 Ey yâdı baña rakībsiz yâr!  
 Yāduñ gibi dil bulur mı dil-dār?  
 Yādında vefāsızıñ vefā var!<sup>2</sup>

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1 Trans: The joy of love you never felt, a slave to  
 passion ne'er were you,  
 No matter that I loved you so, completely  
 unaware were you.  
 My nature was inclined to prosper and  
 delight in love,  
 But friendship with my nature ready to  
 forswear were you.

2 Trans: Oh memory of her, my friend in time of tribulation!  
 Oh memory, unrivalled friend, my only consolation!  
 Will ought but your sweet memory bewitch me  
 with such fascination?  
 To the memory of that faithless one I still  
 own loyalty and dedication.

The above verses are surpassed by the following lines by Hāmid Bey, which in Ekrem's opinion demonstrate a perfect mix of exquisite imagery and emotion, which renders it more charming and satisfying to the spirit than any of the previous examples:

Severem ba'zı ben şeb-i tārı  
 Verirem subh-ı nev-bahārı aña  
 Düş-ı nāzında zülf-i zer-tārı  
 Görinür yārumuñ hayālı baña  
 Yetişüb hāl-i ıztırābumda  
 Yüzüme nūr-ı hüsnini serper  
 Şanırem bir perī-i zerrīn-per  
 Dolaşır külbē-i harābumda!<sup>1</sup>

He concludes with the suggestion that the beauty of a literary work, and in particular of poetry, arises from its being distinguished by some special quality of thought, imagination or feeling. In verse, not only the

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1 Trans: From time to time I love the pitch-black night  
 The morning of the spring for it I'd give  
 On shoulders of disdain her hair shines bright  
 Before my eyes her image stands quite still  
 She comes to me in moments of despair  
 And on my face her beauty's light doth play  
 I see her as a golden-feathered fay  
 She ever haunts my hovel of despair

choice of words and phrases, but even the meter and rhyme, must suit the subject matter, and the mode and manner (ṭavr-u-reng) of the expression must conform to the mood of the poem. The only criterion by which the writer may decide what is most suitable is his own good taste.

Throughout the introduction to Zemzeme III, Ekrem's language is imprecise and his arguments remain undeveloped. He conceives of language as consisting of two elements: ideas and their expression. His rule for writing well is that the ideas must be good and that they must also be well and appropriately expressed. The idea may consist of concepts which appeal to the intellect, or it may be imagery or emotion. This dichotomy between idea and expression echoes the classical rhetorical division between the ma'nevī and the lafzī, that which pertains to the idea to be expressed as distinct from the expression of the idea. In place of the classical concepts ma'nā and lafz he substitutes fikr and lafz. This reformulation of the dichotomy between ideas and their expression serves to emphasise the importance of the former element, which is neglected by classical rhetoric, preoccupied as it is with the means of expression.

His criticism of empty expression is directed not so much at the classical modes, but rather at his contemporaries who were perpetuating the old forms of expression which he felt were no longer an appropriate vehicle for current ideas.

In this short essay we have an eloquent summary of the main thesis of the Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt; indeed, it is not too much to suggest that Ekrem could have felt that his thesis on literary criticism presented therein may have been overshadowed by the other materials necessary in a classroom text-book. This essay, in effect, would remind his students that it was the section on ideas, rather than the more traditional treatment of tropes, which was intended to be his main contribution.

## CONCLUSION

The Islamic science of rhetoric was born out of the first attempts by the Arab poets to establish criteria of literary criticism. Their efforts in this direction led to a theory of literature which was to develop into a sophisticated analysis of language, serving not only as a means of literary evaluation, but also as a tool of philosophical investigation and Koranic exegesis. In the Fourteenth Century the theory was reduced to formulae epitomised in the Telhīs, which became one of the cornerstones of the medrese curriculum. In exchange for a uniform educational system and hence a universal aesthetic, the Islamic World lost much of its energy in the field of literature and there was fostered an environment hostile to speculative thought. Rhetoric was accepted as part of Islamic education, its function and utility, and indeed its value, rarely questioned. The scholars of Istanbul, distanced geographically from the Arabic-speaking heartlands which had given birth to rhetoric, seem never to have felt truly at ease with the subject, finding it necessary to either translate, adapt or comment upon a work which they held in great esteem but could not wholly come to terms with. Whatever other function rhetoric might have filled for the Ottoman scholar, it was appreciated that therein lay the key to language and literary theory, no clear distinction being made between the two.



Two traditions of rhetorical theory did however emerge, the first of which, cloistered within the medrese, sought to analyse language, so that its finest expression, the Koran, might be better understood. Outwith the medrese, literati imbued in the aesthetic values of Persian poetry and prose sought a literary theory for it, and in default of a native Persian theory they adopted that of the Telhīs, itself the product of Persian scholars. It was only in the Tanzimat that these two distinct approaches were felt to be incompatible; and the two schools of rhetoric which subsequently emerged vied for dominance.

These two schools, however, shared a common aim, they sought to endow Turkish with a rhetoric of its own. Cevdet Paşa's concern was that his students should be equipped with the necessary linguistic tools to implement the legal reforms in the introduction of which he himself had been largely instrumental. It was, therefore, natural that his main concern should be linguistic and not literary, and his deep-rooted respect for traditional values led him to attempt an adaptation of the Telhīs to suit the Turkish language. His book may be viewed as the positive expression of the frustration at the irrelevance of a theory of rhetoric written in Arabic for Arabic.

The Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt, on the other hand, was written as a work of literary theory, representing the viewpoint of a school which sought to define literature, and thereby

set standards by which authors could write prose and poetry befitting an intellectual society whose values had been altered radically. Kemāl and Ekrem realised that the rhetoric of the medreses was proving an obstacle to the development of a literary theory, and, indeed, of a national literature, which Kemāl saw almost as a condition of nationhood. They at first looked to the Persian tradition to provide an alternative approach to that of Arabic scholasticism, but found that it, too, was wanting in relevance to the needs of a modern nation. Within the context of institutional change in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire, it is not surprising that Ekrem should have looked to France for his inspiration, and even less so that he should take a schoolbook and adapt its theory so servilely.

Cevdet Paşa and Ekrem Bey were each interested in a distinct facet of rhetoric: the former represents the Islamic scholar fascinated by language, the latter the modernist determined to provide a national literature in a nation state, where neither had existed before. Whereas one might have expected that Cevdet Paşa's work would have elicited little comment, its pedagogical nature affording little scope for criticism, it in fact provoked a fierce controversy. The Ottoman scholar was well-schooled in the Arabic linguistic sciences and was able to appreciate and argue the faults and merits of the work. There followed in the wake of the debate surrounding the

publication of the Belāġat-i 'Osmānīye a number of works on rhetoric which set out to improve on its contribution, all directly a consequence of what seemed to many a radical departure from the familiar conventions.

It may be held strange that Ekrem's rhetoric did not elicit an instant reaction. Although he had no lack of critics, their attacks were directed more to his alafranka mode of living and his declared admiration for things European than to his Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt. His achievement lay in introducing some of the elements of criticism derived from European literary theory, and he was subsequently very influential, not as rhetorician but as a literary critic. It was Ekrem who gave currency to the term "Edebīyāt" and he can be credited with playing a crucial role in the foundation of an Ottoman tradition of literary criticism, which was to become the envy of the other Islamic lands. Some twenty years after the appearance of the Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt, E. G. Browne was to observe:

"Would that the Turks had a literature comparable in value to those of the Arabs and Persians, and would that the Arabs and Persians had cultivated the art of literary criticism to a degree approaching that of the Ottoman Turks."<sup>1</sup>

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1 Introduction to vol. V of E. J. W. Gibb's History of Ottoman Poetry (London, 1907), p. vi.

These theories advanced by Ekrem found expression and application in his own writings which may be regarded as among the most interesting specimens of Tanzimat prose literature. In Appendix III an analysis of his introduction to Pejmurde is given in which can be seen a fusion of the oriental tradition into a Western thought pattern, the whole being of an elegance rarely to be encountered even amongst the earlier masters of Ottoman prose, and with a clarity and precision of thought almost entirely lacking in predecessors. It is regrettable that adventitious events were to prevent this form of the written language achieving its proper development, and that under the influence of political pressures the spoken language was allowed to exert such a dominance that refined modes of literary expression became archaic almost within the very lifetime of one of their most brilliant exponents.

It was the Ottomans, therefore, who can justly claim the credit for freeing Islamic rhetoric from the medrese wherein it had been imprisoned for five hundred years. In doing so they created two distinct traditions of rhetorical study, the first of which sought to analyse and catalogue linguistic phenomena by examining their mechanism, the other which identified those adherent characteristics of language which endow it with an aesthetic. The notion of literature as an art form is, after all, the basis for any distinction which is to be drawn between literary and non-literary works. This second

approach was to redirect Islamic rhetoric towards literary criticism whence it had been born. Whatever the faults and merits of either approach, it must be emphasised that they both created a renewed interest in language, and in particular in the Turkish language. Without this revival in rhetorical studies there is no doubt that the language reforms promulgated by the next generation would not have been achieved so easily.

The term Islamic rhetoric, it will be recognised, is merely a reference to that system which found general acceptance amongst Muslim peoples in various regions of the Islamic World; only in the sense that it had its origins as an ancillary to Koranic exegesis can it be justified as particularly Islamic. It is convenient, however, to apply it in this sense, for the analysis of the Arabic language it presented was to influence the thinking about literary expression amongst peoples as diverse as the Persians, the Turks and the Indians, all of whom accepted its validity because of its association with the divine sciences.

The departure represented by the importation and adaptation of a European system in the late Nineteenth Century to a certain extent freed the study from its religious connotations and allowed a reappraisal of those materials which are its proper concern. Nonetheless, it was as peoples of Islamic mentality and cultural background

that the new thinking about rhetoric was received; and it was also due to this that it provoked criticism and controversy. The triumph of the views offered by Ekrem was not so much due to the unanswerable persuasiveness of his arguments as to the changes in society that required the development of modes of literary expression more consonant with the position in which society found itself. But this, it must be emphasised, was still a Muslim society, motivated and directed by the age-long attitudes instilled by religion; and therefore its ultimate acceptance, however grudging, must be seen as contributing in these important respects to the cultural life of the people. Taking this point of view, there can be no objection to describing Ekrem's work as a contribution to the development of Islamic rhetoric, even though in the outcome it was to displace totally the old cherished ideas.

## APPENDIX I

Transcription of a Faṣl from the Terceme-i Telhīs  
by Altı Parmak (Fatih, 4534)

[f. 183b]

Faṣl:

Bilgil ki kelime ma'nā-yı aṣliyesinden naql olunmak ile mevşūf olduğu gibi, i'rāb aṣlden aḥara naql olunmak ile mevşūf olur. Miftāh<sup>1</sup> 'ibāretinde fehmi olınan oldu ki mecāzlık ile mevşūf olan i'rābdur. Muṣannif<sup>2</sup> — rahima 'llāh selefe-h — iktidā idūb didi:

Ve-kad yutlaku 'l-mecāz'u 'alā kelime<sup>tin</sup> taḡayyere hūkm<sup>ü</sup>  
i'rābi-hā.

Kimi de mecāz kelimeye iṭlāk olunur ki i'rābınun hūkmi taḡayyūr olunur hūkmün i'rāba izāfeti beyāniyedür — ya'nī, ol hūkm ki nefsi-i i'rābdur.

Bi-hazf<sup>i</sup> lafz<sup>1n</sup> ev ziyāde<sup>ti</sup> lafz<sup>1n</sup>.

Lafz, hazfla yāḥōd bir lafz ziyādesi-yle;

evvelki:

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1 Miftāhu 'l-'Ulūm, Es-Sekākī, p. 185.

2 El-Kazvīnī, Telhīs, pp. 336-7.

ke-kavli-h<sup>1</sup> — te'ālā — : "ve-cā'e rabbū-k<sup>e</sup>".<sup>1</sup>

Senūñ rabbūñ emri geldi: "emr<sup>ū</sup> rabbi-k<sup>e</sup>" [de] "emr"  
ḥazf olındı, ḥarfı ref'ine tebdīl [oldı.

İkincisi:

Kavli-h<sup>1</sup> — te'ālā — : "Es'eli 'l-karye<sup>te</sup>".<sup>2</sup>

"Karyeden su'āl eyle" demek]<sup>3</sup> oldı.

Üçincisi:

Kavli-h<sup>1</sup> — te'ālā — : "Leyse ke-mişli-h<sup>1</sup> şey'ün".<sup>4</sup>

Allāh — te'ālā — nuñ mişli bir şey yokdur.

Ey cā'e emr<sup>ū</sup> rabbi-k<sup>e</sup> takdīri ve-cā'e emr<sup>ū</sup> rabbi-k<sup>e</sup>dür,  
zīrā Allāh — te'ālā — mecī'den mūnezzehdür. Ve-ehle  
'l-karye takdīri ve-es'el ehle 'l-karyedür, zīrā su'āl  
ehl-i karyedendür. Lākin mūmkindür i'tibār için karye-i  
ḥarābeden su'āl eyledi ki ehli nice oldı.

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1 K. 89/22

2 K. 12/82

3 This section has been added in the margin.

4 K. 42/11



"Ve-leyse mişle-h<sup>ü</sup>"idi: "[ke-]mişl"de kâf hazf olındı; mecrûr iken, merfû' oldu, zîrâ maşûd mişlini nefydür. Ahsen oldu ki kâf hazf-ı zâ'id olmaya, kināye bābında ola, iki vechle: biri oldur ki şey nefy idesin, lâzimin leff itmek ile, ya'nî Allāh — te'ālā — nuñ mişli olmaklığı nefy itdüğü murād, ki mişlinüñ nefyidür, zîrâ eger mişli olsun, anuñ mişli olmak lâzım olur, zîrâ mukadder oldu [186b] ki mevcûd oldu. İkincisi: şāhibü 'l-Keşşāf didigidür: mişlün "lā yebhal" kısmindendür.<sup>1</sup> Murād, muḥātıbdan "lā yebhal" nefyidür, mişlinden degül bu zâ'id olmak ile olmamağın ma'nāsı bir olur, zâ'id olacak 'alā vechi 'l-kināye olur.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Zemahşerî, p. 1307.

2 Compare also El-Cürcânî, Esrârü 'l-Belāğa, 383; Teftāzānî, Muṭavvel, 405; Seyyid Cürcānî, Hāşiye, 221.

## APPENDIX II

Transcription of a Faṣl from the Nef'-i Mu'avvel:  
Terceme-i Telhīs-ü-Mutavvel, by 'Abdünnāfi' Ef.  
(İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, T.Y. 6534)

### Faṣl

[276/22] Ma'lūm ola ki kelime Ma'nā-yı aṣlīsinden diğ̃er ma'nāya nakl olındığından içün mecāz tesmiye olındığı gibi, [277] ke-zālik i'rāb-ı 'aṣlīsinden diğ̃er i'rāba nakl olındığından içün dağ̃ı mecāz ile tavṣīf olunur. Ve zāhir-i kelām-ı Sekākiden müstebān olan bu nev'-ı mecāz ile mevṣūf olan i'rābdur. Ve mevṣūf i'rāb olması şūrat-ı ḥazfda zāhirdür: "ve-'s'eli 'l-karyete" kavlı-i şerīfinde olan naṣb-ı "karye", "ve-cā'e rabbū-k<sup>e</sup>" kavlı-i şerīfinde olan ref'-ı "rabbū-k<sup>e</sup>" gibi. Zīrā, bunlardan her birisi maḥalleri olan muḏāfdan nakl olınmışdır. Ya'nī aṣli "ve-'s'el ehle 'l-karyete<sup>ti</sup>" olub, "ehl" ḥazf olınması-yla i'rābı "karye"ye intikāl eylemişdir. Ke-zālik, "ve-cā'e rabbū-k<sup>e</sup>", "ve-cā'e emrū rabbi-k<sup>e</sup>" takdīrinde olub, "emr" ḥazf olınarak i'rāb, "rabb" lafzına intikāl eylemişdir.

Ve-emmā ziyāde-i lafz tarīki-yle olan mecāzda bu intikāl taḥakkuk itmez. Ḥāl bu ki Sekkākī "'Leys<sup>e</sup> ke-misli-h<sup>i</sup>" kavlı-i şerīfinde olan cerr mecāzdur" diyū taṣrīḥ eylemişdir. Ve fenn-i beyānda maḳṣūd olan ma'nā-yı evvel ile olan — ya'nī, kelimeyi bir ma'nādan ma'nā-yı aḥara nakl ma'nāsında olan mecāz olub; lākin, muṣannif —

rahime-hü 'llāh — ma'nā-yı s̄ānī ile — ya'nī, bir i'rābdan i'rāb-ı ahara nakl tarīki-yle olan mecāz üzre daḥi tenbīhe muḥavele eylemişdür. Ve bu muḥaveleden maḳşūd selefe iktidā, ve kelimenüñ işbu ma'nā-yı s̄ānī i'tibārı-yle olan mecāz ile ittışāfı 'indinde zab'-u-bāzū-yı sāmī'i zelkden ictizāb-u-imsākdur. Zīrā işbu nev'-i mecāz ma'lūm olmayub da, bu ma'nāca mecāz olmakla bir kelime mevşūf oldıgi gibi, tālīb ma'nā-yı evvele ḥaml ile ḥaṭāda vākī' olur.

Kāl<sup>e</sup> — rahime-hü 'llāh — :

Ve-kad yutlaku 'l-mecāz<sup>u</sup> 'alā kelime<sup>tin</sup> taḡayyere  
ḥūkm<sup>ü</sup> i'rābi-hā bi-ḥazfı lafzın ev ziyādeti lafzın,  
ke-kavli-hı — te'ālā — : "ve-cā'<sup>e</sup> rabbū-k<sup>e</sup>", "ve-'s'eli  
'l-karye<sup>te</sup>", ve misl<sup>ü</sup> kavli-hı — te'ālā — : "Leys<sup>e</sup>  
ke-misli-hı şey'ün; ey cā'<sup>e</sup> emr<sup>ü</sup> rabbi-k<sup>e</sup>, ve-ehle  
'l-karye<sup>ti</sup>, ve-[leys<sup>e</sup>] misle-hü şey'ün

[278] Ve ba'zen mecāz bir lafzuñ ḥazfı ve yāḥōd ziyādesi-yle ḥūkm-i i'rābı taḡayyūr iden kelime üzre ıtlāk olunur. Zāhir olan "taḡayyere<sup>e</sup> ḥūkm<sup>ü</sup> i'rābi-hā" kavlinde, ḥūkmüñ i'rāba izāfesi beyān için olub, lafz-ı Miftāḥ daḥi bunu iş'ār ider. Ya'nī, bir kelimeye ıtlāk olunur ki i'rābı bir nev'den nev'-i dīgere taḡayyūr ide.

İmdi bir lafzuñ ḥazfı-yle olan taḡayyūr-i i'rāb "ve-cā'<sup>e</sup> rabbū-k<sup>e</sup>" ve "ve-'s'eli 'l-karye" kavli-i şerīfleri

gibidür. Ve lafzuñ ziyādesi-yle olan tağayyür "leys<sup>e</sup>  
ke-misli-hi şey'ün" kavlı-ı şerīfi gibidür. Zīrā, nazm-ı  
evvel, medlül-i zāhirīsi olan mecī-yi rabb müstahīl  
olması-yle, "ve cā'<sup>e</sup> emr<sup>ü</sup> rabbi-k<sup>e</sup>" takdīrinde olub;  
i'rāb-ı "rabb" nev'-i cerr olduğu hālde, mużāf olan  
lafz-ı "emr"<sup>ü</sup>ñ hazfı-yle makām-ı fa'ilde kā'im olarak,  
i'rābı nev'-i ref'e tağayyür itmişdür.

Ve nazm-ı sānī, "ve-'s'el ehle 'l-karye" takdīrindedür;  
zīrā, cenāb-ı Bārī intāk-ı cüdrān üzre kādīr ise de,  
makşūd ehl-i karyeden su'āl olduğu makṭū'-u-meczūmdur —  
ya'nī, makām hazfa karīnedür. Şeyh 'Abdülkāhir dimişdür  
ki, bu makāmda hazf ile hüküm, garaż-ı mütekellime rāci'  
olan bir emrden içün olub; hattā eger kelām-ı mezkūr  
bu makāmuñ gayrıda [!] vāki' olsa, hazf ile cezm olunamaz.  
Zīrā bir recül<sup>ü</sup>ñ kelāmı olmak cā'izdür ki, harāb olub  
ahālīsi [bā'id]-ü-helāk olan bir karyeye mürür ile,  
şāhibine vā'iz-ü-müzekkir, ve yāhūd nefsi-çün mütte'iz  
-ü-mu'tebir olarak "es'eli 'l-karyete 'an ehli-hā ve-kul  
le-hā mā şana'ū" dimiş olsun. Mefhūmı: "karyeye  
ahālīsinden ve anlar ne işleyüb ve ne olduklarından  
su'āl eyle" dimekdür. Ve bundan murād itti'āz ve ahz-ı  
cibretdür. Nitekim, "seli 'l-arz<sup>l</sup> men şakk<sup>a</sup> enhāri-k<sup>e</sup>  
ve-ğaras<sup>a</sup> eşcāri-k<sup>e</sup> ve-cenā eşmāra-k<sup>e</sup>" dinilür.

El-hāşıl: "Rebbü-k" ve "karye" içün hüküm-i aslī  
cerr olub, [279] hazf-ı mużāf sebebi-yle evvelde ref'e  
ve sānīde naşba tağayyür itmişdür.

Ve nazm-ı sālīs, "leys<sup>e</sup> misle-h<sup>ü</sup> şey'ün" olub; lafz-ı "misl" için hüküm-i aslî haber-i "leys<sup>e</sup>" olduğu cihetle naşbdur. Hāl bu ki, ziyāde-i kāf sebebi-yle cerre tağayyür itmişdür. Ve kāf ziyāde 'add olunması: zīrā, maḳṣūd Vācib — te'ālā — ḥazretlerinin misli bir şey olmaklığı nefy olub, yohsa mislinün misli bir şey olmaklığı nefy degüldür. Ve aḥsen olan, kāf zā'ide olmamasıdır.

kāl<sup>e</sup> — rahime-h<sup>ü</sup> 'llāh — "Ve yekūnū min bābi  
'l-kināyeti, ve fī-hi vechānī" daḥi "leys<sup>e</sup> ke-misli-hi  
şey'ün" kavlı-ı şerīfi bāb-ı kināyeden daḥi olur ve bunda iki vech vardur. Vech-i evvel budur ki kavlı-i mezkūr bir şey'i nefy-i lāzimi-yle nefydür. Zīrā, lāzimi nefy nefy-i melzūmı müstelzim olur: "leys<sup>e</sup> li-aḥī Zeyd<sup>in</sup> aḥ" gibi. Zīrā, "Zeydün aḥi" melzūm ve "aḥ" lāzimdür. Şöyle ki Zeydün aḥi için bir aḥdan lāzimdür ki o aḥ Zeyddür. El-ḥāşıl: Zeydün karındaşı 'Amr olduğu gibi, elbette 'Amruñ karındaşı daḥi Zeyd olmak lāzim gelür. İmdi, "leys<sup>e</sup> li-aḥī Zeyd<sup>in</sup> aḥ" kavlıñde bu lāzimi nefy idüb, nefy-i melzūmı murād idersin; ya'nī "leys<sup>e</sup> li-Zeyd<sup>in</sup> aḥ" demek olur. Zīrā, eger Zeyd için aḥ olsaydı bi'z-zurūr anuñ-cün de aḥ olmak lāzim gelürdi, ki o aḥ Zeyddür. Hülāşa, "Zeydün karındaşınıñ karındaşı yokdur" demek cā'iḥ olamaz ki, "Zeyd karındaşınıñ karındaşı olur."

İşte, bu mişālde olduğu gibi, nazm-ı mezkūrda daḥi "mislü 'llāhī" için misl almaklığı nefy ile misl-i Allāhı

nefy murāddur. Zīrā, cenāb-ı Bārī için mişl olsa, nefy olınan mişlüñ mişli olub, nefy-i şaḥīḥ olmazdı, zīrā, mefrūzumuz mişl-i Allāh mevcūd olmasıdur. Bu cihetle mişl-i mişlüñ nefyi-yle bi-ṭarīkū 'l-kināye mişlüñ nefyi murād olınmışdur.

Ve vech-i sānī [280] Keşşāfuñ zikr eyledigidür ki, būlegā "mişlü-k<sup>e</sup> lā yabḥal" diyüb, mişl-i muḥāṭabdan buḥli nefy iderler. Hāl bu ki, ğaraḥ zāt-ı muḥāṭabdan nefy olub, kaşd-ı mübālağa için ṭarīk-i kināyeye sülūk iderler. Zīrā, muḥāṭabuñ mūmāşilinden ve aḥaşş-ı evşāfı üzre olan kimesneden nefy itdükleri vaktde, muḥāṭabdan nefy itmiş olurlar. Meşelā: fulān "kād eyfa'at lidātū-h<sup>ü</sup> ve-belāğat etrābü-h<sup>ü</sup>" diyüb, fulānuñ ifā'-ı bülūğını murād iderler. Yāfi' şebābı mütenāhī olub, büyüyen şābdur; māżīsi "eyfa'a" olub "ġulām<sup>ün</sup> yefā'un" ve "yaf'u-h<sup>ü</sup>", "yāfi'<sup>ün</sup>" dinilerek mūfi'<sup>ün</sup> dinilmez, ve bu nevādirdendür. "Lidāt<sup>ün</sup>" dāl-i mūhmele ile, cem'-i "lide<sup>tün</sup>" olub; "tev'em", ya'nī "ikiz" ma'nāsınadur, "etrāb", "tirb"<sup>ün</sup> cem'i olub, "akrān" ma'nāsınadur.

El-ḥāşıl, fulānuñ tev'emi sinn-i kibre resīde olub, ve akrānı sinn-i bülūğa müntehiye olması, fulānuñ daḥi ifā'-u-bülūğını müstelzim olur.

İmdi bu takdīrde "leys<sup>e</sup> ke-'llāh şey'<sup>ün</sup>" kavli-yle "leys<sup>e</sup> ke-mişli-hi şey'<sup>ün</sup>" beyninde fakat 'ibāret-i sānīyede kināyenüñ i'tā eyledigi fā'ide-i mübālağadan

başka fark yoktur. Ve bu 'ibāreler, zāt-ı Bārīden nefy-i mūmāselet ma'nā-yı vāhidi üzre ta'ākub iden iki 'ibāredür. Ve "bel yedā-h<sup>u</sup> mebsūtātān<sup>1</sup>" [K. 5/64] nazm-ı şerīfi daḥi bunufi nazīri olub, ma'nāsı yed, ve yed içün baş taḡavvūr olınmaksızın "hū<sup>ve</sup> cevād<sup>ün</sup>" dimekdür. Zīrā bu 'ibāre cevāddan 'ibāre olarak vākı'a olub, būlegā isti'māllerinde, cevāddan başka bir şeyi kaşd itmeyüb; hatta ki kendüsi-çün yed olmayan kimesnede isti'māl iderler. Ve bunufi gibi "leys<sup>e</sup> ke-misli-h<sup>i</sup> şey<sup>'ün</sup>" 'ibāresi daḥi kendüsi-çün misl olmak mümkün olub, ve olmayan kimesnede isti'māl olunur.

### APPENDIX III

#### An Analysis of Ekrem Bey's Prose Style

From the introduction to Pejmürde (Istanbul, 1311/1893)

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#### Māhīyet-i Eser

Şükūfedān içinde aylarca kalmış bir demet ki bi-'t-tab' solmuş harāb olmuştur — çiçekleri Şāni'-i tabī'ātuñ aklām-ı sebzgūn ucunda peydā . . . evrākı zümürüddin arasında hānde-nümā etdiği şi'rlerdir diye telakki eden — mezāyā-şināsān-ı nefā'is nazarında ne derece hūzn-āmiz ise şu Pejmürdeyi teşkil eden şi'rler de kā'il-i 'ācizi nazarında o derece rıkkat-engizdir ki mukayyed bulundukları mecmū'a içinde senelerce mehcūr-ı iltifāt kalarak ciyādet-i lafzīyeleriyle berāber belki tarāvet-i ma'nevīyelerini de gā'ib etmiştir.

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1) Throughout the introduction there is a lack of a systematic punctuation indicating the syntactical organisation of the sentence.

2) The relative clause (ki . . . olmuştur), being a consequence of kalmış, should properly be included in the same sequence of ideas: . . . kalarak bi-'t-tab' solmuş



harāb olmuş bir demet. . . This would, also, give prominence to the grammatical subject, which here is separated from its predicate by intrusive material so expressed as to dominate the attention.

3) mezāyā-şināsān-ı nefā'is: qualified by the group (çiçekleri . . . telakkī eden). "Those appreciative of the true qualities of beautiful things, who regard flowers as poems produced by the Author of the World on the tips of green pens [i.e. flower stems] and shown joyously amidst emerald leaves. . ."

The use of sec' as a conjunction (peydā/nūmā) alerts the reader to the imaginative effort in the statement. The contrived congruence of the imagery is characteristic of divan poetry: flowers being identified as God's poems, their green stems are pens and the leaves among which they appear the pages of a book.

This stylistic imbalance is an obstacle to the immediate apprehension of the thought, the syntax of which, nonetheless, is direct and simple: demet . . . ne derecede hüzn-āmīz ise, şu . . . şî'rler de o derecede rıkkat-engīzdir.

The final explanatory clause employs the -erek construction in the way suggested for the opening part of the sentence.

Kudret-i küllîyenî ervâh-ı müştâkîni i'câz . . .  
 ef'ide-i mütehassisini rehîn-i ihtizâz etmek şânından  
 olan reng-reng ma'ânî-yi mestûre-i 'ulvîyesine işâret-ü  
-delâletle âlûde-i fütûr görünmekle berâber nâzırînini  
 yine ba'zan ṭâkat-güdâz-ı cân olacak bir hiss-i elîm-i  
 tahassüre . . . bir gür-ı 'amîk-i tefekküre düşürecek  
 mertebede belâğat-i ebkemâne-i fenâ-pezîrânelerini  
 muhâfaza eden kadîd olmuş şükûfeler koparıldığı yere  
 nisbet veyâ alındığı tarafa izâfetle başkaca bu hâṭıra-ı  
 dil-nişîne . . . ayrıca cāzibe-i hâṭır-nişâna da mâlik  
 olursa atılmağa bir dürlü kıyılamaz.

Here, too, the basic sentence is simple: şükûfeler  
. . . mâlik olursa, atılmağa bir dürlü kıyılamaz:  
 " . . . it can in no wise be borne that they be cast  
 aside." The burden of qualification resting on kadîd  
olmuş şükûfeler creates perplexities at a first reading:  
 thus, the subject of âlûde-i fütûr görünmekle berâber  
 could be taken to be the poems mentioned in the previous  
 paragraph.

Pejmürdeye giren şi'rler ise 'umûmen bir fikr-i  
 ceyyidi mübeyyin . . . bir hayâl-i bedî'e mukârin olmakdan  
 ba'id oldukları hâlde yalnız her biri enhâr-ı edvâr-ı

cihān miṣillū cūybār-ı a'mār-ı insānıñ da dökülüb gitdiği  
 'ummān-ı bī-kerān-ı hīçā-hīçe kaṭarāt-ı mevhūme-i sirişk  
 gibi karışub bī-nişān olan bir lahza-ı şevk-u-neşātıñ . . .  
 bir dem-i ye's-ü-mātemiñ sevinli bir yādigār-ı hazīni  
 olduğu için kendilerinden şarf-ı nazar etmege göñlüm  
 rāzī olmadı.

---

The sequence of ideas is here somewhat clearer, due mainly to the subject being enunciated at the beginning of the sentence; after the concessive clause this subject element is repeated in her biri, and the predicate of the latter is identified by the use of the indefinite article (bir yādigār-ı hazīni olduğu için). The burden of qualification here rests on bir lahza/bir dem; the group enhār . . . bī-nişān olan, divides into two equal parts at 'ummān-ı bī-kerān-ı hīçā-hīçe.

---

Naḥlistān-ı hazān ḥiyābānlarında tolaşırken  
 ayaklarınıñ altında ğarībāne izhār-ı inkisār-u-infi'āl  
 eden şararmış yapraklarınıñ vāveylā-yı bī-me'ālinden  
 müte'eggir-ü-mütefekkir olan erbāb-ı ḥakīkat şu bir kaç  
 varakdan 'ibāret eş'ār-ı pejmürdeniñ terennümāt-u  
 -te'evvühāt-ı bī-āhenginden müteneffir olmaz sanırım.

---

Taking advantage of the identity in meaning of yaprak and varak he conceives that those kindred spirits who can feel some traces of melancholy from the sound of dead leaves crumbling beneath their feet in an autumnal glade will also show a similar response to the poetry in "these faded pages". Here he has exploited the imagery in a manner hitherto particular exclusively to poetry.

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Müntazam demet hâlinde . . . mu'tenâ deste şeklindeki çiçek manzûmeleriniñ her birisi hâline göre üstâdâne bir kaşide-i belîğa . . . 'âşıkâne bir gazel-i nefîs . . . zarîfâne bir kit'a-i bedî'a . . . şâ'irâne bir mişrâ'-i ber-ceste olmak üzere karîn-i hüsn-i takdîr . . . mazhar-i lutf-ı tevķîr olmağa lâ'ikdir. Ma'a mâ fîh ben öyle müntazam demet hey'etinde . . . öyle mu'tenâ deste şeklinde bağlanmamış, çünkü bağlanmağa şâlih görûlmemiş tağınık kır çiçeklerini daha dil-firîb bulur . . . daha çok severim. Bence bunlar o menşûr şi'rlerdir ki ekseriyâ sâkin bir dereninîñ tenhâ bir kıyısından . . . loş bir meşcereninîñ gizli bir köşesinden iltikâf olunur.

---

The reader's attention is drawn to the several subjects of olmak üzere by the use of the adjectival suffix -âne (üstâdâne . . . , 'âşıkâne . . . , zarîfâne . . . , şâ'irâne).

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Pejmürdeniñ kism-i negrîsi o mensûr şî'rlerden  
sayılacak liyâkatı hâ'iż degil iden zarâfet-ü-leţâfetce  
kendilerinden degerli olmıyan manzûmâtıñ arasına naşıl  
karıştı.

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